EARL BROWDER ON RUSSIA

AUG 3 1946

New Republic

August 5, 1946 · Fifteen Cents

Permanent Peace or a New War?

The first of six articles on Russia

by EARL BROWDER

Who Wants War in China? by Lawrence K. Rosinger

Unionism's Bid in Baseball by Paul Gould

Baruch and Gromyko by Thomas H. Mahony

Number One World Citizen by Ralph Martin

Confessions of a Book Reviewer by George Orwell

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"It will influence everyone who thinks or reads."
—THURMAN ARNOLD

Two Worlds

by William B. Ziff

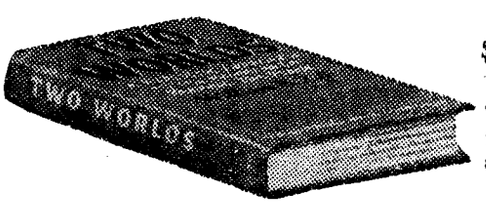
MR. ZIFF'S earlier book, THE COMING BATTLE OF GERMANY, was widely credited with influencing American war plans and was required reading in all of the War Colleges. His best selling THE GENTLEMEN TALK OF PEACE appeared in 1944. Informed observers have been commenting since on the uncanny accuracy of Mr. Ziff's predictions of world events.

In our judgment, TWO WORLDS is the most powerful and significant work yet to come from Mr. Ziff's pen.

TWO WORLDS has already had a profound impact on all shades of official Washington opinion. "A brilliant, highly readable volume which comes closer than anything written in this generation to providing a realistic estimate of the true world situation," says Senator James M. Tunnell. Writes Senator Homer Ferguson: "It is sure to exercise a profound influence over American judgments on foreign affairs."

> These are the questions which Mr. Ziff discusses with the bold, muscular realism characteristic of his work: **Can the United Nations succeed in maintaining the peace? Is collective security a delusion? How will wars be fought in the new atomic age? What is the situation of Great Britain, and what are the purposes her statesmen are attempting to achieve? Must we finally go to war with Russia, and what are the driving forces behind Russian actions? Is a world government possible or even desirable? What is going to happen to Asia? And what kind of American policy can make sense in the present world situation?**

Mr. Ziff recognizes that there are only two great powers left in the world, and that these are now rushing into headlong conflict with each other. He tells us that if such a war occurred it would be a long one despite atomic weapons. Even though we emerged victorious, it would leave us economically crippled, and with our social system drastically altered. The avoidance of this catastrophe is the prime world problem of today. TWO WORLDS brilliantly analyzes the true quality of the present emergency, and outlines with sharp clarity the choices before the American people. This is a challenging, thought-provoking book. In part its conclusions are deeply disturbing. It is a book with whose conclusions many will disagree, but which no one can afford to ignore.



$3.00 • *At all bookstores* • **HARPER**

"There is vivid drama in his presentation of the troubles that beset our world . . . forthright and hard-hitting . . . shrewd and pithy . . . eminently tough-minded."
—*Saturday Review of Literature*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 115, NO. 5 NEW YORK, MONDAY AUGUST 5, 1946 NUMBER 1653

Atomic Front Door to Peace

BY ACT OF CONGRESS, the Army's lease on atomic energy, held under the trade name of Manhattan Engineering District, has expired.

The congressional action came almost a year to the day after the first atomic bombs fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and coincided with the exploding of other atomic bombs in Bikini Lagoon. In a year in which the wartime uses of atomic energy overshadowed by far its peacetime potentialities, the establishment of an Atomic Energy Commission and the Lilienthal report on international atomic controls stand out as the only positive work in the entire field.

Congress moved slowly, almost reluctantly. When it finally served its notice on the Army to move out, it came as the greatest anti-climax in recent congressional years. The House, which a week before did all it could to continue military control, did not even bother to take a roll-call vote on final passage. The Senate shouted it through as though it were a pet post-office project in a colleague's home town.

Representative J. Parnell Thomas (R, N. J.) was the only member of the House-Senate conference committee not to sign the report incorporating the civilian control provisions. A frustrated and bitter man, he was sure that Communists were lurking in the woodwork at Oak Ridge and Los Alamos, bigger than ever. Clare Boothe Luce, who gave lip service to civilian control, muttered something about the new bill's opening the front door to peace and the back door to socialism.

The climax had come behind the closed doors of the conference committee room a few days before the House and Senate so quickly approved the bill. In conference, the two Republican Senators—Millikin of Colorado and Vandenberg of Michigan—carried the fight to the reluctant House conferees and won.

Senator Millikin quickly saw the wisdom of maintaining strong government controls on atomic patents. It was he who convinced the House conferees (except for Thomas) and was responsible for that section's being retained in the bill just as it was originally passed by the Senate. Senator Vandenberg, whose name was once associated with an amendment to the bill which was attacked by atomic scientists and liberals as assuring military control, fought hard for the removal of the military from the Atomic Energy Commission. When these two finished their arguments, the Atomic Energy Act of 1946—its official title—was in.

The Senate had to give up some of the provisions in the original bill, but it is generally agreed they were essentially minor concessions. The Director of Military Applications, for instance, must be a member of the armed forces. Since he will be appointed by the Commission and be directly responsible to it, there is little danger of military control. True, the penalty for transmitting atomic information can be death, but the conferees wrote in the safeguard that specific intent to injure the United States must first be proved. The provision on the international exchange of information on industrial uses of atomic energy could have been put more positively, but even that is not considered a major point in light of what is in the final bill.

Thomas put it best when he told the House, rather bitterly:

"The House won all the skirmishes; the Senate won all the battles."

BUT the congressional fight itself was only a skirmish, compared to the battles ahead. President Truman must appoint the members of the civilian commission as soon as possible and it must be made up of men who recognize atomic energy not as a device for demolishing peoples and cities and battleships, but as a potential force for improving the lot of peoples in their cities and for banishing battleships from the world.

The most logical choice for chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission is David E. Lilienthal, chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority and guiding force behind the State Department report for international control of atomic energy. Lilienthal, who is an excellent administrator besides having a long record as a fighting progressive, fits all the requirements for the job as set down by the Federation of American Scientists—"practical, imaginative, experienced, energetic, conscientious."

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1946, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

With such an able chairman, the Commission would attract men of similar quality. The Commission should have scientists, of course. Men like Dr. Philip Morrison, Dr. J. R. Oppenheimer and Edward U. Condon. These men have fought for wider use of the atom as a tool of peace rather than as a weapon of war and can be expected to continue that fight. It is almost certain that the President will name a businessman or two to the Commission. They most certainly must have the qualities the Federation of Atomic Scientists lists as necessary.

The Atomic Energy Commission, possibly the most important government agency ever created, can be only as strong as President Truman chooses to make it.

Conflicts in China

THE FIRST ASSIGNMENT of Dr. Wellington Koo, the veteran Chinese diplomat recently appointed Ambassador to this country, was the least enviable of the season. He found himself called upon to tell an incredulous world that Madame Sun Yat-sen didn't know what she was talking about when she called for the withdrawal of American troops and military supplies from China. Since the one thing that everyone familiar with modern China agrees upon is Madame Sun's integrity, brilliance and deep understanding of her own people, it is hard to believe that the new Ambassador had any great success in his task, particularly since his profession has made him almost as much a stranger in his native land as Dr. Lin Yutang.

In fact it is impossible to dismiss the charges made by China's most distinguished lady that Kuomintang revolutionaries are bent on civil war in the belief that American military power will help them in a task they know they are unable to accomplish for themselves—the crushing of the Chinese Communists. Even the American supporters of the backward and corrupt Chiang Kai-shek regime tend to corroborate what she says. By insisting that even though the Kuomintang is backward and corrupt the United States must support Chiang to the limit, because of fear and distrust of the Soviet Union, they supply convincing evidence that the ruling clique isn't being over-optimistic when it counts on our military support in any steps it takes to smash the opposition.

No one has yet accused the New York *Herald Tribune* of being either an enemy of conservatism or a dupe of the Reds, but it frankly shares Madame Sun's suspicions. In an editorial on July 24, it said:

> It seems doubtful, on available evidence, that the reactionaries who control the political machinery of the Kuomintang government of China actually desire a new world war. But there appears to be no question that they are determined to try to exterminate the Chinese Communists, and that they believe Washington will be forced to support them in this endeavor. They seem to be convinced that the United States will be compelled to aid them, regardless of all other considerations, to prevent China from becoming a Communist state under the domination of Moscow.

Despite General Marshall's sincere efforts to bring about peace, a strange and sinister duality in American foreign policy, which provides encouragement to the forces of disunity and reaction at the same time that it calls for Chinese unity, has long given the Kuomintang right wing reason to believe it could always count on our support. We have armed, trained and transported troops controlled by the reactionaries, and it is these troops which have done most of the fighting against the Communist armies. We have given financial backing to the Kuomintang, guarded its lines of communication and supplied it with planes to bomb Red areas. We have done everything possible to drive the Communists into the arms of the Soviet Union. The only things we seem to have achieved in the process are to make conflict with Russia more possible and to arrange that in the event of such a conflict the aging and backward forces in China will be on our side while the vigorous and progressive elements will be ranged against us.

Apparently convinced of American support in their struggle with the Communists, the Chinese reactionaries are now turning on the liberal intellectuals of the moderate Democratic League in a new and open reign of terror. In one week two distinguished leaders of the League, Professors Wen Yi-tu and Li Kung-po, strong advocates of a coalition government and opponents of the present dictatorship, were assassinated in Kunming and the terror there has grown so great that eleven other professors, also members of the Democratic League, have been given sanctuary in the American consulate. Meanwhile, in Shanghai, government police, armed with tommy-guns, surrounded the campus of Futan University, carried off two students and seized books and magazines whose titles included such subversive words as "democracy," "people" and "emancipation."

SO LONG as we continue to supply aid and comfort to the reactionaries, it is impossible for either a presidential envoy or an ambassador to accomplish much that is of value to the sorely tried Chinese people. However, President Truman's recent selection of Dr. John Leighton Stuart as our new Ambassador to Nanking deserves commendation. As president of Yenching University in Peiping, Dr. Stuart has a splendid record as defender of the right of free speech of his teachers and students against the terrorism of the Kuomintang secret police. Certainly there could be no more urgent time for the American Ambassador to be a stalwart defender of liberal intellectuals.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Reparations Question

SINCE his return from a 49,000-mile grand tour of reparations zones, Edwin W. Pauley has been compounding bad logic with rash talk. In one breath he warns that any revision of the Potsdam agreement would mean repetition of the tragic errors that led to the last war. In the next he proposes that the agreement be wrecked by unilateral United States nullification of clauses calling for transfer of certain German capital equipment to Russia as reparations. And finally, at Los Angeles, with complete abandon, he warns that deviation from Potsdam commitments "would only create the danger of another war."

This represents a remarkable magnification of an agreement which even Secretary Byrnes will admit was an eleventh hour compromise arrived at during the final hours at Potsdam to prevent a complete collapse of the Big-Three conference on the reparation issue.

No one in Washington, least of all the brash special reparations ambassador, seems willing to recognize the inescapable equation that the dimensions of the German reparations problem are precisely equal to the dimensions of the German peace settlement. So long as Russia and the Western Powers delay settlement of the form and content of a postwar Germany, so long will the issue of reparations from Germany continue to rankle the relations of the Great Powers. The percentages established in the Potsdam formula for withdrawal of reparations from Germany are incapable of resolving the problem simply because Russia and the Western Powers are applying them to disparate concepts of Germany.

In peacemaking, as in mathematics, order is achieved by setting factors of a problem in their proper sequence. Such a sequence in Europe does not seem possible until Messrs. Byrnes, Bevin, Bidault and Molotov hold the full-dress conference on Germany which they have projected for this autumn and finally determine the nature of postwar Germany. At such a point, the Potsdam formula either can be made to work or a new formula with new percentages can be devised.

Had not Pauley engaged in saber rattling during his consultations in Washington last week, he might have contributed substantially to the progress of world peace by providing new perspective on the reparations problem. Buried under his loud talk and harsh words were statistics which make it apparent that the stopgap and incomplete reparations understandings reached in the closing days of the war and immediately thereafter are inadequate and likely to engender friction rather than to contribute to stability.

The Pauley report that Russian stripping in Manchuria has incapacitated $2 billion in capital establishment planted there by Japan emphasizes above all the fact that there is nothing in existence among the Great Powers capable of integrating this factor into the total reparations balance. The subsequent State Department charges that Russia has been bleeding Hungary of food resources while taking 80 to 90 percent of current production of Hungarian heavy industry reveals that reparations agreements reached even in advance of Potsdam are in need of reëxamination.

All these elements do not, as Pauley contends, add up to the conclusion that the Potsdam agreement must be retained inviolate without revision of a comma or a semi-colon. They do add up to the conclusion that the work on reparations done at Potsdam by President Truman, Prime Minister Attlee and Premier Stalin was sadly inadequate and must be done again and more thoroughly as the Western Powers and Russia hammer out the final peace settlements.

Peron Loses Bolivia

The revolution in Bolivia on July 21 that turned out the assassination government headed by President Gualberto Villaroel murdered the hopes of Argentine President Juan Peron to create in South America, as Hitler tried to do in Europe, a bloc of states banded together in fascism and hatred for the United States. The revolution, in other words, represented a triumph for the policy followed by Assistant Secretary of State Spruille Braden, whose aim is to reëstablish the solidarity of the Americas without making concessions to fascism.

In the bloody uprising in La Paz, Peron suffered the worst defeat of his brief public career. The Villaroel government had delivered Bolivia as a satellite to Peron's fascistic predecessors in the presidency, and friends of Peron all over South America quickly realized that the death ferociously visited upon Villaroel might catch up with them if they followed similar policies. So the pro-Argentine movements in Chile, Peru and Ecuador have withered. The pressure from Buenos Aires on Uruguay is relaxed. In Paraguay, President Morinigo, dictator and Peron lackey, swiftly prepared to resign.

The rise and fall of the great Argentine plan to create a compact group of fascist states covers only three years. The establishment of this group was the main goal of Argentine foreign policy after the trumped-up revolution of June 3, 1943, which ousted an old-style South American dictatorship and gave supreme authority to a military-fascist regime. Within a little over six months, fascistic Argentina subverted Bolivia, where the repressive, Nazi-loving MNR party, in December, 1943, violently displaced the inept government of President General Enrique Penaranda del Castillo.

The Bolivian government thus created was not simply an intellectual sympathizer with German Nazism. It was a subtly active ally of Germany. When Germany surrendered, Bolivia, for all its distance from the center of world affairs, became a haven for those who still ached for the triumph of fascism through a resurgence

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Germany. Only a few months ago the Bolivian government took into its membership the miscreant Major Elias Belmonte Pabon, who, as Bolivian military attaché in Berlin in 1941, developed so ardent an admiration for Nazism that he espoused it for his homeland.

The United States once gave cynical approval to the Villaroel government, but Braden has erased the cynicism from American policy and at his behest the American Embassy in La Paz a month ago protested against the terrorism which characterized the departed government. So the negative part of American policy in the Western Hemisphere is successful. But democratic hopes will wither in Bolivia and elsewhere unless the United States encourages social and economic reform in the republics to the south of us by a positive policy of New World coöperation.

The New Budget Director

President Truman has selected as his new Director of the Budget a man practically unknown to him and almost everyone else in his administration except Treasury Undersecretary O. Max Gardner. James E. Webb, who has been nominated to succeed the able Harold Smith, is a forty-year-old lawyer and businessman who grew up as a protege of former Governor Gardner down in North Carolina.

Webb advanced into an executive position with the Sperry Gyroscope Company, a client of the Washington firm Gardner has headed in recent years, and one of the many companies which Gardner's long-time patron John M. Hanes, a Morgan partner, serves as director. He later joined Gardner's law firm, which is referred to in Washington as "Hanes's lobby" because it handles the business for most of the varied companies with which Hanes is connected. When Gardner moved into the Treasury, he took Mr. Webb along as his assistant.

Those are the main facts known about Webb's preparation for one of the key jobs in the federal government. In commenting on the appointment, Secretary Gardner told the press that Webb is a "disciple of the balanced budget." Those who don't know Webb but who do know the "budget balancing" economy views which John Hanes has been helping the Harry Byrds of the country sell for many years, are afraid that President Truman has bought another bad bargain. In unfriendly hands, the Bureau of the Budget can prevent full employment from becoming much more than a campaign slogan.

Checking Senatorial Incomes

Senator Wayne Morse (R, Ore.), who is building one of the most progressive records in Congress, has braved the wrath of his colleagues by proposing a reform that would require Senators to report annually on all of their income, regardless of source, together with any transactions in securities.

This is one of the most important congressional reforms yet proposed. As Morse said in introducing the resolution, the voters are entitled to know "whether their representatives in the Senate are serving the public interest, and whether, in so far as their official acts are concerned, they are in any way influenced or dictated to by the sources of their income."

There is no chance for action now on the Morse proposal, but it should not be allowed to die. Democracy cannot succeed if the men who direct its affairs are motivated by selfish personal considerations, rather than the welfare of the people. There is ample evidence in the session of Congress now coming to a close that many members of Congress have been motivated by other than the public interest. A few Congressmen have been involved in charges of improper outside incomes. But more important, the majority of Congressmen have repeatedly voted for special interests, as against the public interest, on such issues as price control, housing, railroad monopoly and the ownership of oil lands, to cite only a few outstanding examples.

It would be ridiculous to assume that most of these votes were directly related to the incomes of Congressmen. But it would be enlightening to know how many of the Congressmen have investments or other indirect tie-ins with the interests that have been so well served. Voters might find it significant to know how many of their Congressmen who voted against labor, while supporting special interest demands from industrialists, are naturally partisan toward industry's demands because of their security holdings.

The Thin American Market

The catastrophe confronting most American families when inflation hits is vividly demonstrated by an official study showing that even during the war, when national income was at an all-time peak, two out of three families had incomes of less than $3,000 a year and a fifth of the nation's families had to get along on less than $1,000.

The study, conducted by the Federal Reserve Board and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, had previously shown that these same families had little war savings to carry them through the difficult days ahead. Families with incomes below $1,000 have less than $20 in savings on the average.

These income figures spell catastrophe not only for individual families but for the national economy, which is dependent upon mass purchasing power. New Dealers are not the only ones who recognize this danger. Even David Lawrence's business-minded *United States News* said the study "suggests a weaker underpinning for the nation's business structure than had been generally believed."

Some day businessmen may be convinced that in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

order to sell their products they must get a better distribution of income—which means higher wages and lower profits.

Minimum-Wage Bill Dies

Some four million workers were denied a wage increase from 40 to 65 cents an hour as the 79th Congress neared its end with the Senate-passed minimum-wage bill still entombed in the House Rules Committee. The discharge petition, final attempt to bring the wage bill to the floor, was 77 signatures short of the 218 needed to by-pass the Rules Committee. Representatives George Outland (D, Cal.) and Andrew Beimiller (D, Wis.), leaders of the House fight for the bill, expressed confidence that an equally comprehensive wage bill would be introduced at the beginning of the next Congress.

British By-Election Results

The Labor party elected all three of its candidates in the by-elections held in Bexley, Pontypool and North Battersea last week. The election background is discussed in "London Letter" (p. 141). The vote was relatively light, as only 55 percent of the electorate cast ballots compared with over 70 percent in the general election last summer. In all three districts the Labor majority was reduced, the most serious drop occurring in Bexley, where Labor's margin was cut from almost 12,000 to approximately 1,800.

Winston Churchill put his slim hopes for victory in British disillusionment over the "shackles of socialism" and bread rationing. He didn't win. Real British disillusionment still appears to be with the negative, nineteenth century policies of the Tories.

Army Quota for Negroes

Simultaneous with an announcement by Selective Service officials that 155,000 men must be recruited by next March, the War Department declared it was closing the doors on Negro enlistments.

To the War Department that decision was entirely reasonable. On the basis of last spring's Gillem Report —since condemned as a vehicle for continuing many anti-Negro discriminations in the Army—the ratio for Negroes in the Army was set at 1 to 10. That, the Army points out piously, is the same ratio as in civilian life. Therefore, in the Army's view, when the number of Negroes in the Army reached that ratio it was time to suspend further enlistments. Young, able-bodied Negroes are refused enlistment while draft officials sweep the bottom of the manpower barrel reclassifying men previously found physically unfit to fill Army uniforms.

The limit on Negro enlistments comes as a climax to a series of discriminations. The Army previously instituted a ban on shipment of additional Negro troops to the European theatre, limiting Negroes to South Pacific service or duty in the United States. That ruling, it seems, did not achieve the desired effect. Negro recruits still applied for service in large numbers. Other efforts, such as decreasing the number of Negroes on promotion lists, have been made to make regular Army life less attractive to the Negro.

This action of the War Department brought criticism from those favoring Army talk of democratization. The American Veterans Committee protested by pointing out that "There was no quota system for Negro draftees during the war and no quota on the origin of the men who were killed during the war." The United Negro and Allied Veterans of America demanded that President Truman rescind the order stopping Negro enlistments. Many feel that the action, coming at this time, is a threat that the Army will take every opportunity to retreat to its old discriminatory policies.

The Full Employment Council

President Truman has appointed Leon H. Keyserling, general counsel of the National Housing Agency, and John D. Clark of Wyoming, a combination oil man, banker, politician and economist, to the Council of Economic Advisers established by the Full Employment Act.

Keyserling is a liberal with wide experience in dealing with Congress on housing, public works, labor relations and social security. As far as Washington is concerned, John D. Clark is still pretty much of a question mark.

At this writing, the President has not yet announced the third appointment and who is to be chairman. After the council is complete, it will have the job of drawing up the economic report which, under the Act, is to be submitted by the President to Congress at the beginning of 1947.

Facing the Council of Economic Advisers is the most challenging task of postwar American government. World peace and international economic amity depend upon a stable, prosperous United States. The exporting of unemployment, the dumping abroad of low-priced surpluses, the cutthroat cutting of currencies prevalent in the post-World War I era had much to do with the growth of Fascism and Nazism abroad. If such trends are not to be repeated, we shall have to produce far more than the conflicting, timid, half-heartedly-backed domestic economic policies which have been prevalent since V-J Day.

The Council of Economic Advisers, with strong Administration backing and constantly prodded by the progressive elements in American politics, can be the tool for recommending and shaping such policies. It will face stiff opposition in Congress and much sniping by the conservative elements in the Administration. But the infant, so long and hard a-borning, with the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

right vitamins and care from its anxious parents, can grow into a lusty leader in the battle to make America seize its economic destiny and shape it with strong, determined purpose.

Price-Rise Control

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION over prices came back with a flurry of price-increase orders. Under the new law, price control has become price-rise control. The great question is whether it will turn out to be control enough to prevent a runaway inflation.

The President signed the compromise bill July 25 on the slim chance that the 1946-47 version of price control will be enough at least to slow down rising prices until production can catch up. In his special message to Congress, the President pointed out that the new law was by no means a guarantee that inflation can be avoided. He told Congress that if the bill proves hopeless he will call both Houses back into special session "to strengthen the price-control laws, and to enact such fiscal and monetary legislation as we need to save us from the threat of economic disaster."

Administratively the President can tighten the lines of defense against a spiral to disaster. He has announced the appointment of a three-man de-control board. The decision whether or not controls will be re-established on August 20 over meat, dairy products, grains, cottonseed, soybeans, poultry, eggs, tobacco and petroleum will be up to Daniel Bell, former Undersecretary of the Treasury, Roy Thompson, president of the Federal Land Bank of New Orleans, and George Mead, Dayton, Ohio, paper manufacturer. The board also will have the final word on removing controls on other products. If it will undeviatingly put the welfare of the country first and the demands of the special interests second, the chances of beating inflation will definitely begin to look up.

The pressure that will be brought to bear against the board will be tremendous. Its members will need the fortitude of a Chester Bowles and the firmest backing of the President if they are to resist.

The President will need to do a little whip cracking on some of the less enthusiastic price controllers in his own administration. Mr. Truman did his best to prevent Congress from handing over the control of agricultural prices to the Secretary of Agriculture, but he lost. Now it will be up to him to see that Mr. Anderson, who has never been noted for his zeal for price control, goes along. It is wholly within the power of the President to close this particular hole in the price-control dike.

Within 30 days, the OPA will have to boost the price of automobiles, farm implements, refrigerators and other products not manufactured during the war. Regardless of their present profits, dealers must now be given their prewar mark-up. This will mean about $150 more on a $1,000 automobile.

Rents were rolled back automatically to their June 30 level when the bill became law, and probably will stay there for the summer and fall at least. How much beyond that they can be held in line will depend in large part upon other price rises. The real estate interests at once renewed their drive for a 10 or 15-percent rent increase.

Prices also were rolled back on the 40 percent of food that remained under control. Generally speaking, foods in this group did relatively little spurting during the OPA hiatus, and are not likely to rise short of a general push upward. But on meats and dairy products in particular, the story promises to be different. They were the spectacular risers. If the de-control board lets the controls go back on August 20 and orders the restoration of subsidies, a substantial cut in the current high prices may be achieved. Many doubt, however, that even under these circumstances prices can be shoved all the way back to the June 30 ceilings. If the board, on the other hand, turns these products loose and they continue shooting upward, they will sooner or later carry other food prices along with them.

Any way you look at it, thousands of price rises are coming under the new bill. Consumers probably will feel at times that they are "busting out all over." It will take the best combined efforts of the Administration and a buying public which continues to resist strongly when faced with exorbitant rises to prevent the upward spiralling which can only result in further wage demands, strikes and general economic misery.

To Regulate Monopoly

THE most sweeping anti-monopoly measure since the Sherman Anti-Trust Act" is being backed by a bi-partisan group of Senators organized by Wayne Morse (R, Ore.). Republicans Aiken (Vt.), Young (N. D.) and Langer (N. D.) have joined liberal Democratic Senators Murray (Mont.), Kilgore (W. Va.), Mitchell (Wash.) and Glen Taylor (Idaho) in a specific program designed to deal with the growing concentration of economic power.

A three-way strategy of dealing with monopoly and monopolistic practices is outlined in the new anti-monopoly bill, one of the most comprehensive economic measures ever presented to Congress.

1. As part of his economic report under the Employment Act, the President would be required to develop a consistent and coördinated anti-monopoly program for transmittal to Congress at the beginning of each session. He is to make an annual study of the extent to which monopoly and monopolistic practices exist in trade, industry and agriculture and must submit such reorganization plans as may be necessary to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

develop effective anti-monopoly administrative machinery.

2. The bill flatly prohibits cartels and provides for more adequate enforcement of the Sherman and Clayton Anti-Trust Acts. It aims to prevent patent-licensing agreements from being used for monopolistic purposes and to eliminate discriminatory freight rates. In addition, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is subjected to a policy mandate instructing it to use its vast resources for making capital available to small business.

3. The bill provides for effective public control, wherever necessary, of monopoly and monopolistic practices. The policies of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Maritime Commission and other regulatory boards are to be coördinated under the direction of the President. Specific plans for ownership or regulation are to be submitted to Congress whenever the President finds that a monopoly or monopolistic practices cannot be eliminated and should instead be subjected to public control.

Upon introducing this measure, Senator Morse pointed out that "what little the government has done in recent years to combat monopoly has usually been half-hearted, inconsistent and ill-considered." Although there is room for improvement in the bill, it unquestionably provides a whole-hearted, consistent and well-considered approach. It offers a broad framework within which the opposing philosophies of those who believe in old fashioned trust busting and those who favor regulation or public ownership can be reconciled. Through its tie-up with the Employment Act, it should serve as a helpful antidote to the overdose of fiscal-policy economics from which our full-employment economists have been suffering.

Morse also emphasized the fact that American labor "has too often been forced out on strike by monopolistic companies which are in such a strong economic position that they have little or nothing to lose by a prolonged period of inactivity." In past years, however, organized labor has limited its legislative program almost entirely to matters relating directly to collective bargaining, working conditions and social welfare. It has largely neglected the fundamental problem of the concentration of economic power, a problem which underlies every other subject with which labor is concerned. One of the reasons for this neglect has been the memory of how Thurman Arnold's anti-monopoly drive, instead of striking at our industrial and financial oligarchy, was sidetracked into anti-labor channels. But the new anti-monopoly bill is sponsored by some of labor's ablest defenders in Congress. This should go a long way toward aligning labor with the farmers and progressive businessmen who are insisting that monopoly should no longer be allowed to dominate the economic life of America.

The Smell of Oil

RARELY has Congress subordinated the public interest to special interests so clearly and so openly as in its approval of legislation giving away the federal government's claim to ownership of the rich submerged oil lands off the coast of California.

Oil-company lobbyists, aided and abetted by the State of California, lobbied this bill through Congress so that the oil companies could continue to profit from pumping the oil, instead of saving it, as the Navy wants to do, for the time when it may be needed to operate the Navy for defense of the nation.

California gets millions of dollars a year in royalties for letting the oil companies pump the rich fields lying under the ocean within the three-mile limit. So it fronted for the oil-company lobby to put the legislation through Congress.

The excuse of Congressmen who voted to let the oil companies, rather than the Navy, have this oil was that it really belonged to California and that the state had the right to dispose of it. They denied the federal government had any legitimate claim to the land.

But the only purpose of passing the legislation at this time was to prevent the Supreme Court, which is the final authority on such questions, from deciding who really owns the oil. Supporters of the legislation were thus contending that California owned the oil and at the same time voting for legislation to keep the Supreme Court from deciding whether this was true.

Opponents of the legislation were confident that President Truman would be able to block this congressional usurpation of the Supreme Court's jurisdiction by the use of his veto power.

The really significant thing about the legislation was the forceful demonstration once more of the way Congress responds to special-interest lobbies. Here was the most clean-cut conflict between public and private interests. The hand of the oil companies in the lobby had been hidden at first under a false-front issue of states' rights. But it had been thoroughly exposed during the investigation of Edwin Pauley's nomination for Undersecretary of the Navy. When the Senate voted for the legislation, 44-34, the oil stain was all over it.

The Pauley investigation showed that the resolution had been drafted by a lawyer employed by California who approached members of Congress in the name of California, but was collecting from the oil companies. Funds to pay for the lobbying drive were raised by the companies. Pauley, who did much of the lobbying for the measure while he was an official of the Democratic National Committee, had a heavy personal stake in the oil.

These disclosures blocked Senate action on the oil legislation for months. But the public is forgetful. The oil companies are persistent.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Wire—Wreck of the Old 79

A CHAPTER ENDS when Congress quits. This is the end of the Andy May session of Congress, the ignoble 79th.

I pause a moment in the hushed dignity of a little chamber in the Capitol. This room housed the old Senate before the Civil War. Clay, Calhoun and Webster thundered here. Then, later, the Supreme Court took it over and it has been kept exactly as they left it. They were here when I came to Washington 25 years ago. That seat in the center was for the ponderous Taft, and there sat Cardozo, Brandeis and Holmes. It is calm, austere, deserted now, like a chapel. In all this would-be glory of the cluttered Capital this one room has dignity. I utter a little prayer.

Out in the great rotunda you see small figures in the gallery above. This is the great cast-iron dome which symbolizes democracy to Americans. But the giant paintings are second-rate. The wall reliefs are so very bad they are funny. They were made by Italians who never saw America. The crowd comes and goes. Yes, it is symbolic. It might be majestic and is rather ridiculous. From my bench I notice the two copies of Houdon's George Washington, one marble, one bronze. They are exactly alike, but nobody has ever bothered to separate them. Famous men here, Lincoln, Jackson, Jefferson. And who's this?—Edward Dickinson Baker, Senator from Oregon, "October 2, 1860, to October 1, 1861." How did Mr. Baker get in here? Who was he? Nobody knows, nobody cares.

Then Statuary Hall: two statues from each state. There's the magnificent one of Bob La Follette, senior, just rising from his chair, and William Jennings Bryan. And between them, guess who? Huey Long. Yes, there he stands, Louisiana's gift to America, impish, impudent Kingfish in bronze, the nearest thing to a Führer this country ever developed. Hitler, Mussolini, Huey Long—they all met violent ends; only Huey remains in bronze.

Now I am in the House press gallery. The men below wear summer suits. It's air-conditioned. They are talking about the streamlining bill. Great hunks of the reform bill have been killed by order of Speaker Sam Rayburn, but even so the proposal to cut House committees from 48 to 19 and make similar changes in the antiquated system is nothing short of revolutionary. The reform is baited with fat salary increases for Congressmen. Tall, handsome Mike Monroney (D, Okla.) leans against the microphone stand on the Democratic side, wheedling the bill through. When Congress reconvenes this shaky room may be remodeled. Iron supports, like the under side of a trestle, now shore up the weakened glass roof and iron girders obstruct the gallery view all around. Hung in the "trestle" above is a rectangular frame, exactly like a coffin, suspended from the ceiling and housing loudspeakers so Congressmen can hear such other despite the vile acoustics.

Newsmen rub their eyes. In this ancient setting reform is actually at work. Congress is doing something—a little—to modernize itself. We look at each other with a wild surmise. We shake our heads. Easier to get Edward Dickinson Baker out from the two Washingtons, easier to remove Huey Long from Bryan and La Follette, than to streamline Congress. Yet it is happening.

Now a brave thing happens. Against certain defeat, big, square-shouldered Andrew Biemiller (D, Wis.) offers an amendment to wipe out the old "Dies" Committee. Heretofore it was one committee in 48, now it will be one in 19, vastly more prominent. He knows it's a hopeless fight but he is speaking for his conscience and for history. He feels the frigid atmosphere for the bold demand. He gets a few "Yeas," and a thunder of "Nays." But Biemiller has his jaw set. He insists on a standing vote, where members can at least be seen. I see Helen Douglas stand up with the little handful of those favoring the motion; there's not a single supporter of it on the whole GOP side. It goes down, 25 to 127. I think there is a plume in Biemiller's hat. And Huey Long still stands in the Capitol.

And now it's the same day, and President Truman's press conference; he is best at his press conferences. It's hard not to like him. He's a friendly, hard-trying, average man, doing the best he can; a man from Main Street with thick-lensed glasses. Is he big enough for the job? Well, there he stands, behind the desk where FDR sat so many years, wearing a double-breasted, pearl-gray summer suit, brown, healthy, natural, smiling and apparently unworried. He's just signed the OPA bill, named a new economic cabinet, urged Congress once more to pass the Veterans' Housing bill. (Congress ends with Truman still urging and vetoing.) It's humid, suffocating Washington weather at its worst; through the screen door you see the rain drifting down against the dark magnolia trees across the lawn; you hear a clap or two of thunder. A moment later the sun will be shining again, through the steam. That's the Washington Congress leaves behind.

Notes.—Columnist Lowell Mellett referred to "the present sinful session," the word I've been looking for. . . . As more and more incumbent Congressmen are knocked off in primaries one feels a political groundswell—resentment against the "ins"; many a Representative who applauded Andy May on the House floor the other day will live to rue the day the House didn't defend its own honor. . . .The OPA is back again, but nobody here really thinks it can halt price increases. . . . In the midst of inflation Republicans have the gall to propose a 20-percent personal-income-tax cut. . . . The OPA-hating New York *Times*, July 22, gave only 155 words, on page 19, to the White House analysis showing the Bureau of Labor Statistics' price index of 28 commodities had jumped 25 percent since the lapse of the OPA; it carried in the same paper 900 words from Arthur Krock denouncing the statement. . . . Unlike the *Herald Tribune*, the *Times* didn't bother to carry the text, just denounced it.

Washington T. R. B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Political Roundup—Hannegan's Meanderings

BOB HANNEGAN is in danger of becoming known as a better Postmaster General than Democratic national chairman. For the past month, when the Democrats were badly in need of political leadership on plans for the fall campaigns and on the current legislative jam in Congress, Hannegan has been junketing around the world studying overseas air-mail routes. His able young assistant in both political and Post Office departments, Gael Sullivan of Chicago, trained by Boss Kelly himself, is off with him, further weakening the Democratic staff at this critical time. Truman's old Missouri pal Dick Nacey, national vice-chairman, has been on out-of-town assignments much of the time during Hannegan's absenteeism. And Ed Pritchard, young Kentucky New Dealer who holds the title of Counsel to the Democratic National Committee, gets to Washington only about once a month. So the committee has rocked along headless and aimless.

The credit Hannegan won last winter for honestly trying by every possible means to push Truman's program through Congress has been about evaporated by now. It will be too late to regain any of the ground lost in Congress by the time Hannegan gets back on the job. And he may find it even harder than it was before he left to stop Truman from acting as his own political quarterback. The professional politicians sigh and say that Hannegan would have prevented White House endorsement of Wheeler and the poorly timed attack on Representative Roger Slaughter, which seems more likely to help than hinder him. Truman alone among the Democrats does not seem worried about the state of the party machinery. He recently told newsmen that he intends to keep Hannegan on as chairman because he does not "know where he can get a better man."

The PAC Minus Hillman.—The CIO has lost no time in adjusting itself to a new phase of political action. There could be no one "successor" to Sidney Hillman as PAC chairman, for no other man in the CIO even approaches the knowledge of political affairs, the mastery of timing and strategy and the absolute integrity which were so well combined in Hillman. The temporary arrangement to carry on the PAC which has been worked out by the CIO board seems generally practical. Jack Kroll, a trusted Hillman lieutenant in the Amalgamated and the PAC who is to serve as "Director" of the PAC, lacks a real grasp of the total political picture, but he is dedicated to the idea of political action by labor and he has the respect of all groups in the CIO. You can expect Kroll to follow Hillman's policy of working with everybody in all factions of Right or Left who is interested in fighting labor's political battles, and of opposing any third-party move nationally.

Few if any changes will be made in PAC staff and operations between now and November. All energy will go into winning the elections. Enlarging the Political Action Committee itself by adding representatives from more unions should produce a more widespread feeling of responsibility for political action.

PAC's newly created executive committee, composed of the secretary-treasurers of the big-four CIO unions, is expected to bring more participation from that source and facilitate the raising of campaign funds by the dollar-per-member contribution method.

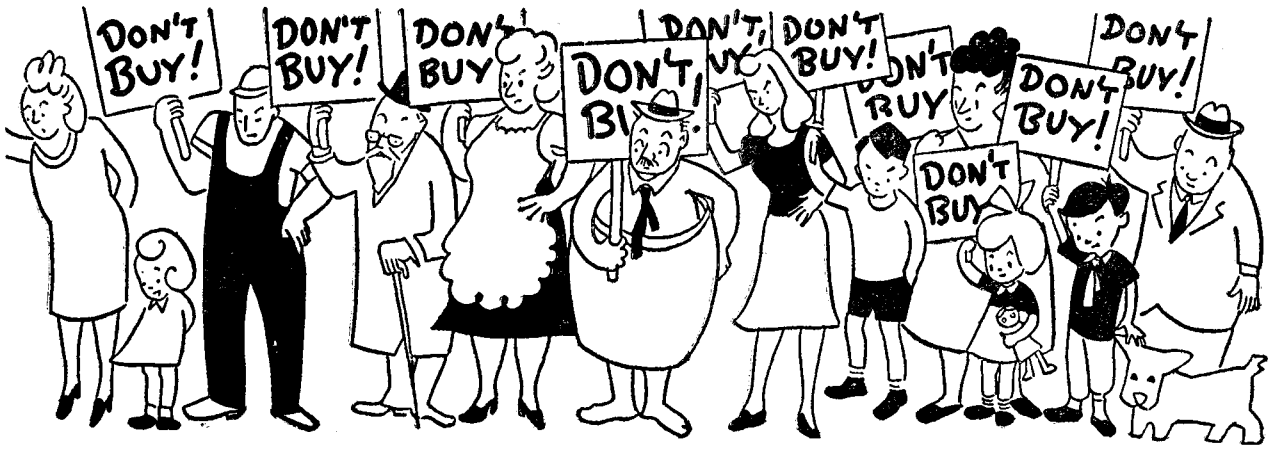
California.—Election of James Roosevelt as Democratic State Chairman for California represents a solid triumph for the most progressive wing of the party. As predicted in this column, June 17, the liberal congressional delegation organized their supporters for the state convention and took over the state Democratic organization from Bob Kenny, the defeated candidate for Governor, and his friends. Party control has now shifted to the South. For the next two years at least, Helen Gahagan Douglas, George Outland, Glad Hall Jones, new chairman of the women's division for Southern California, and the forces they represent will have considerably more to say about party affairs in the state than they did during the period of Kenny domination. It is doubtful that the kind of party unity needed to ensure election of Will Rogers Jr. to the Senate in November has yet been achieved, however. Rogers himself did nothing to help his chances when he took Roosevelt's election as an occasion to blast the valuable Hollywood Independent Citizens' Committee as a "communist front" organization.

Georgia.—Decent Georgians are saddened by the shadow Talmadgeism has already cast over their state by the lynching of two Negro men and their wives in the first week after the reëlection of old Gene. Efforts are being redoubled to prevent his ever taking office. Chances are good that an independent candidate will file against Talmadge in the general election. And a test case on the constitutionality of the county-unit system responsible for Talmadge's election in the primary will be brought, perhaps in time to rule him out of the running in November.

Oklahoma.—The defeat of reactionary Representatives Jed Johnson, Lyle Boren and Victor Wickersham in the Democratic primary is being interpreted in Oklahoma as the result of anti-incumbent sentiment, spurred on particularly by the price-control issue. All three of the defeated Congressmen had been very active against the OPA, and in attacking liberal legislation in general. Main issue in the governorship race was a textbook racket scandal that has aroused the state.

Roy Turner, the big oil and cattle man who won the Democratic nomination after a vicious mudslinging campaign, is expected to be a tool of the old machine gang which perpetuates Senator Elmer Thomas. Turner will be anti-labor. He wrote the yellow-dog contract for the Oklahoma City schools and will probably open a witch-hunt aimed at the state university as one of his first actions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Facts about Inflation

What Has Happened to Prices?

By April, 1946, the cost of living had risen 31 percent above prewar. Most of this increase occurred before the hold-the-line order in May, 1943. After that, the cost of living rose only about 3.5 percent. Wholesale prices increased 44 percent between August, 1939, and February, 1946, but only 3.5 percent after May, 1943.

Both cost of living and wholesale prices rose a little more before the end of the OPA on June 30. Since then complete statistics have not been compiled, but a daily index of wholesale prices of important commodities had risen 13 percent in three weeks after June 30, or four times as much as within the previous three years. So far, post-OPA inflation of retail prices has been felt mainly in foods and rent, but the increase in wholesale prices is bound to be translated into higher prices for almost all goods at retail.

Is the Present Danger as Great as in 1919?

During World War I, price control was too little and too late. It did not extend to retail markets, and there was no compulsory rationing for individual consumers. As a result, the major part of the price rise had already occurred when the war ended. Price controls were abandoned immediately after the Armistice, and prices went up further. The index of wholesale prices in 1919 was about twice as high as in 1913. It rose about 30 points more in 1920. The cost of living in 1919 was 77 percent above 1914. In 1920 it advanced to 105 percent above 1914.

This time, more effective control has prevented excess of consumer demand from having so large an effect on prices. If we are now to repeat the earlier experience, we still have two-thirds of the upward road to travel, and therefore postwar inflation will be much worse. This possibility is increased by the fact that during World War I production of automobiles and other consumers' durable goods was much less seriously restricted, and there is now a far greater deferred demand.

To offset this gloomy prospect there is the fact that we are now further along in reconversion than when price control was abandoned before, and there is a greater probability of increase in production. Industrial production did not increase at all between 1919 and 1920.

Did a Buyers' Strike Break the 1920 Inflation?

There was much talk of a buyers' strike at the time, and many still believe that it occurred. Figures, however, seem to prove that it did not. Expenditures by consumers were actually larger in 1920 than in 1919, although the slump began in the middle of 1920. Consumers' outlay is estimated at $53.9 billion in 1919 and $62.9 billion in 1920. In 1921, when the fall of prices and incomes had become precipitous, consumers' outlay dropped to $56.1 billion. If, however, changes in the cost of living are taken into account, consumers bought a steadily increasing quantity of goods during the whole three years. In terms of 1929 prices they bought $48.9 billion in 1919, $50.9 billion in 1920 and $53.9 billion in 1921.

What Did Cause the 1920 Crash?

If there was no buyers' strike, why did prices start to fall in 1920? One reason was the previous action of business. While prices were rising, businessmen ordered large quantities of goods, expecting to make a profit by reselling them at a higher price level. They built up inventories faster than consumers purchased the finished goods. While consumers bought more in 1920 than in 1919, they could not buy enough, at the prices asked, to prevent the accumulation of unsold stocks. Business inventories grew by about $6 billion in 1919 alone. There came a time when business could no longer afford to carry these large stocks and could not borrow any more money for the purpose. Goods had to be thrown on the market for what they would bring, and this depressed prices. Business inventory losses in the slump are estimated at $10 billion.

At the same time export demand for agricultural products fell off because the former belligerents could not borrow any more money from the United States, and swords were turned into plowshares. Thus American farmers could sell less both abroad and at home. Crop prices fell to the prewar level.

How About a Buyers' Strike This Time?

An effective buyers' strike would help to keep prices down, but it is an extremely difficult job to organize millions of people for this purpose. Many of the price rises apply to common necessities which people have to buy. Many of the luxuries are sold to people with plenty of money who are willing to pay premium prices.

What Makes Prices Rise?

Sometimes governmental deficits are blamed for inflation. Sometimes it is supposed to result from abandonment of the gold standard and the issue of fiat money. Or it is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

said to follow an unwise expansion of loans by the banks. People usually think of it as being caused by the greed of profiteers. Whatever part any of these influences may play at any given time, the whole matter comes down to something much more simple. The price of any article tends to rise when the demand for it is greater than the supply. What is described as inflation is a situation in which nearly all prices rise at once. This means simply that the demand by everybody taken together is greater than the supply of all goods and services taken together.

What Makes Demand Increase?

There has seldom, if ever, been a time when people did not want more than they had. In this sense demand always exceeds supply. In an economic sense, however, what we are talking about is *effective* demand—that is, demand backed up by purchasing power. The main factor in increasing effective demand is an increase in the amount and use of money (or its equivalents, such as bank deposits or cashable securities).

What Limits Supply?

No matter how much the spending of money may increase, prices will not rise if the supply of goods and services for sale rises as fast as the amount of money spent. In an inflationary period this does not happen. There is a limit somewhere to the supply of labor and raw materials. There is also at any given time a limit to the productive capacity of factories and farms, to the capacity of railroads, trucks, warehouses and distributing agencies. A bottleneck anywhere along the line will restrict the supply of goods for consumers.

It is often argued that a rise in prices will stimulate production by making it more profitable. In ordinary times this may be true, but during inflation production may not increase at all, or increase much less rapidly than demand. On some occasions production reaches the limit of existing capacity before the spending of money stops growing. When inflation takes hold, prices rise unevenly and businessmen may be so uncertain about future costs and profits that they are afraid to make commitments. Speculation for gain from rising prices of existing goods is likely to interfere with the production of new goods.

Why Has Money Increased Faster Than Goods?

During the war the government spent billions of dollars for goods and services which could not be resold to the public. Money for making these goods was paid to businessmen and workers, but since the goods were not for sale, civilians could not use the money to buy them. Much of this money still exists in the form of cash, bank deposits or government bonds. The increase in such savings since the start of the war amounts to about $150 billion. This is one important source of potentially increased demand.

Some people do not understand why government spending increased the total supply of money. Did not the government get the money from the people by taxing them or selling bonds to them? In part it did, but a large fraction of the money was not raised in this way. The government created billions of dollars of new purchasing power by selling securities to banks, which did not have to give any of the existing money supply in exchange. The banks simply credited the government with deposits equal to the value of the securities which the government "sold" them.

How Much Are People Now Earning?

At the high point in early 1945, the income of the people was nearly two and a half times the prewar average of 1935-39. Since the war it has shrunk a little, but not nearly to the prewar level. Income in March, 1946, was 132 percent greater than prewar, or considerably more than double. Thus even if people do not spend their savings, they have much more to spend out of what they currently receive than in prewar years.

Has Production Kept Pace with Income?

Industrial production increased almost as fast as income during the war, but about half of it was not for sale to civilians. Output of munitions has now given place largely to civilian production, but production is not nearly so far above the prewar level as is the amount of money people are receiving. In April, 1946, industrial production was 64 percent above prewar. The goods offered for sale to individuals have been less numerous than this index would indicate, because many of the things produced are still in process, or consist of machinery and building materials which individuals do not buy. The gap between the index number of 232 for income and that of 164 for production roughly shows the excess of demand over supply and the pressure for higher prices.

Will Prices Go On Rising Forever?

Even if there is no buyers' strike, prices are sure to fall sooner or later. As prices go up, fewer and fewer people can afford to buy so many goods. While the total of purchasing power is large, it is not evenly distributed. A survey under the direction of the Federal Reserve Board shows that the lower 50 percent of the consumers have only 22 percent of the money income, and only three percent of the savings. They are actually now spending more than they get. At the other end of the scale, the top 10 percent of consumers have 29 percent of the money income and 60 percent of the liquid assets.

By inflation, goods are being priced out of the mass market. This is sure to reduce demand. When famine abroad is alleviated, exports of farm products will drop. Even if business pursues a more conservative policy than last time, it is almost certain to be caught with unsalable inventories. Meanwhile, industrial production is likely to increase as new plants and machinery come into use, wartime gains in efficiency are applied to civilian goods and bottlenecks are eliminated so that materials in process flow more freely into retail markets.

When Will the Slump Occur?

A survey of 33 economists made by *Newsweek* shows that a large majority expects a "boom-and-bust" cycle. Guesses as to when the depression will begin range between the second quarter of 1947 and the third quarter of 1950. The average guess is the third quarter of 1948. The economists believe that the higher prices go, the more severe will be the reaction. They also expect labor trouble, further restricting production and boosting inflation, if prices rise much before next fall.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Report on Russia

A Durable Peace—Or a New War?

by Earl Browder

FOR 25 years I have been visiting the Soviet Union whenever circumstances permitted. I have now returned from my fifteenth trip, in many ways the most valuable of them all. The *New Republic* suggested its columns for a series of reports on my impressions, a proposal I have accepted.

Perhaps the first point I should establish is that I am a spokesman for no one but myself. The status is not one of my own choosing, but was forced upon me by circumstances. While I am basically an adherent of organized action and thinking in public life, I find myself a man without an organization. My articles must therefore be taken entirely as expressions of personal opinion.

Before I undertook my latest trip to Moscow, I already held rather firmly certain opinions about Soviet-American relations. These can be stated briefly: that world progress depends uniquely upon friendship and collaboration between these two countries; that such a relationship is equally necessary for both sides as for the entire world; that all obstacles of ideological differences and contrasting modes of life must be and can be overcome. After six weeks in Moscow I returned with these convictions confirmed and strengthened. In my articles I shall explain the basis for these opinions.

While I was in Moscow I did not ask for and did not receive any endorsement of my opinions. They are the views of an American, formulated from an American approach. I was, however, deeply interested in knowing whether my opinions were considered inimical in any way to Soviet interests. I received my answer to this question in the fact that I was warmly received as an American friend of long standing, was given all opportunity to study current life in the Soviet Union and was requested by the Soviet Publishing Houses to act as their American representative to stimulate the interchange of books between the two countries—an offer which I gladly accepted.

This is the first in a series of articles by Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party of America, who was expelled from party membership this year.

The New Republic, *which believes in liberal democracy, is of course opposed on principle to communism. We publish Browder's series for its intrinsic interest and value.*

These articles are a New Republic *copyright and may not be reproduced in whole or in part without express permission.* —THE EDITORS

Approaching the Soviet Union through Finland, I gained a first-hand example of what creates the "iron curtain" of misunderstanding between the USSR and America. This slogan of the "iron curtain," invented by Goebbels and popularized by Churchill, masks the grim reality of moral and material incitation of civil war against the new popular regimes in the countries bordering the Soviet Union, the effort to overthrow these regimes because they stand for friendly collaboration with the Soviet Union and the determination to install hostile regimes in preparation for an eventual full-scale Anglo-American war against the Soviet Union. The first task of all who understand the supreme importance of Soviet-American understanding and friendship is to make known the real facts of this so-called "iron curtain."

I HAD shaken off my official conductors in Helsinki (much to their chagrin) and found my way unheralded to the Finnish side of the Soviet border. There I found I had a 24-hour wait for the train to Leningrad. I was stranded at a wayside station, without even a lunchroom in sight, trying to adjust myself to the idea of spending a day and a night on the uncomfortable station benches. This dismal prospect was dissolved by the approach of a local official, offering me, in good if somewhat halting English, the hospitality of his home, where a private room and hot meals awaited me. Needless to say I accepted the invitation, especially as I was known only as an "American writer" whose name meant nothing there—at least not until the next day.

My host joined me at dinner, after which American cigars stirred him to an eloquence unusual in my observation of Finns. He went to work at the task of educating a stray American on the problems of Finland and the world. I quote from our conversation as recorded by me immediately afterwards:

"Another war is coming soon," he informed me.

"I thought Finland had enough of war for a generation or two," I countered cautiously, feeling my way to that mixture of opposition and agreement which would most fully bring out his thoughts.

"Yes, but we can never rest until we recover our lands to the east," he replied.

"That is a big order for such a small nation, isn't it?" I asked.

"Of course, we can do nothing alone," he admitted.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"That was the reason for our association with Germany in the last war which America so deplorably misunderstood. But next time we will be fighting side by side with America and England, and therefore we will be successful. Churchill showed that he understands this, in his recent speech in America—where was it, a place called Fulton, wasn't it? This last war was a failure for you. You got rid of Hitler. But now you are faced with Stalin. So you will have to fight again."

"You are familiar with Churchill's speech, I see," I said as a diversion to gain time to digest this morsel before taking another helping. "Was it printed in the Finnish papers?"

"No, our papers must be careful right now. You understand. . . . But the British Broadcasting Company put a recording of it on the air many times. I listened to it three times on this short-wave receiving set right here. It was a great speech. It gave us all hope again."

"Before you place too many hopes in that speech," I said, "you should know that it was not exactly popular in America. The last thing most Americans want is another war, and they, like you, understood that Churchill was trying to prepare another war. But while you welcomed it, most Americans didn't. You see, while you can state with some definiteness why you want war—to recover your lands to the east, you say—very few Americans can see why we should go to war against the Soviet Union for that or any other reason you might name. You see, the Soviet Union has nothing that Americans want—at least not enough to go to war about."

"Yes," he replied, his face clouding, "I heard about the crowd in New York shouting against Churchill. Yes, many of your people do not yet understand why this next war is inevitable. But they will learn, they must learn."

"War is a terribly expensive thing for America," I continued, taking advantage of his first expression of doubt. "We are a rich and powerful country, it is true. But what is the use of being rich and powerful only to spend all our wealth and power in one war after another? The last war cost us three hundred billion dollars, to mention only the money side of it, and another war would cost even more. It requires a very compelling reason to spend such sums in war. America didn't enter the last war until she was attacked and forced to fight. What most Americans want now, above everything else, is a long peace in which we can enjoy life. We don't like war."

"But you will have to fight again," my host insisted heavily. "Perhaps it would not have been necessary if the last war had been handled correctly. You must pardon me if I criticize your Roosevelt—of course he was a very great man, but it would have been much wiser to give less help to Stalin, make him use up his reserves more, and accept the surrender of the German armies on the western front before they were destroyed. And it was not necessary to desert Finland. Yes, things might have been different. But now you must pay for these mistakes with another war. The Soviet Union is too powerful."

"I must admit some Americans agree with you," I said, "but the great majority think the Soviet Union and Stalin want peace too, and Americans don't want to go to war about ideologies. The Soviet Union suffered very much in this war, and the Russians also want peace, a long peace in which to reconstruct their country."

At this my host became quite animated. He leaned forward, he almost gestured, he spoke with deep feeling:

"You make a big mistake when you think the Soviet Union wants peace because she has been weakened in this war. The Soviet Union is not like America. Every Russian is ready to spring to arms at the word of Stalin. They are good soldiers, too—I should know, I fought against them in two wars. Their war material is first-class—and I speak not of the lend-lease material from America, but of their own production, which for war seems to be endless. If you permit them to finish their new Five Year Plan, then God help us all, it will be too late. They will be unconquerable. No, you must fight soon."

"Will you be in the Finnish army again for the third time when the new war comes?" I asked.

"I hope not," he replied. "I expect to be in America before that. My wife's brother went to America after the First World War. He became a successful manufacturer, and this war brought him big orders for airplane parts, in which he has done quite well. He says there is no reason why I cannot be as successful there. No, I hope to be in America and in business by the time war comes again."

Before I could comment, my host turned to his short-wave receiving set.

"It's seven o'clock—time for the BBC," he said, turning the dials. From the polished mahogany cabinet came the smooth voice of the announcer:

"This is the British Broadcasting Company. We now continue our series of talks on the British system of higher education. . . ."

I went to bed without listening to the talk on the British system of higher education, having had little sleep the previous night. But I lay awake for many hours, pondering the evening's revelations. Here, almost within sight of the Soviet border, men who had been defeated in two wars within a few years conspire feverishly for another as quickly as possible. They draw their inspiration for this from Britain and America. This Finnish local official is by no means the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

worst example. Personally, his main interest is to get away to America. But in Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Germany, the desperate remnants of Nazism and its fifth columns, without any hope of emigrating to America, are nursing the same dreams, listening to the same short-wave broadcasts, and already are engaging in the guerrilla warfare and political assassinations which they look upon as the skirmishes of this next war. They look to the Paris Conference of Foreign Ministers, and tell one another that Bevin and Byrnes are fighting there in their behalf, that this is the reason for the prolonged deadlock. They hear the speeches of General Anders, heading the Polish army organized and maintained by the British government, and they are sure they will soon receive similar help.

This fifth column of the remnants of Nazism is the "iron curtain" that cuts off Eastern Europe from America and Britain. For it draws its hope and inspiration from Britain and America, and so long as this condition lasts, there can be no mutual confidence and understanding between the great powers.

The raising of the "iron curtain" is the task of Britain and America. It requires only that the Western powers withdraw their patronage and protection from the remnants of Nazism and Quislingism, and give the liberated countries a chance to reorganize themselves in peace. So long as this is not done, I for one cannot expect the leaders of the Soviet Union to have any deep confidence in the high-sounding protestations of peaceful intentions and desires of the Anglo-American statesmen.

II

THE GREAT POWERS declared to the world at Teheran, and later at Yalta, that they intended to make an enduring peace when the Axis had been crushed, a peace that would banish the scourge and terror of war for generations.

Very slow progress is being made in giving form and substance to this promise. American newspapers and some American statesmen are working hard to convince the public that this slow progress is the result of a change of attitude by the leaders of the Soviet Union. They broadly hint that the Soviet Union is no longer interested in a durable peace.

My visit to Moscow fully confirmed my previous opinion that the leaders and peoples of the Soviet Union desire a durable peace above all things, that they believe this is possible to achieve and that all their policies are directed to this goal. If the American people and their leaders have a similar will to peace, the only obstacles to be cleared away are the misunderstandings that arise from two different approaches to the common problem.

It is not my intention to discuss the issues which have deadlocked the conferences of the foreign ministers for so many months. I am so bold as to assume that these issues have proved difficult not so much in themselves as because of other factors which have not been placed on the table for discussion. It is these other factors, more intangible, more difficult to get hold of, which constitute the root of the difficulties.

THERE is an idea widespread among the most diverse political circles, Right and Left, that the central difficulty in establishing a durable peace arises from the fact that the Soviet Union has a socialist system of economy whereas the United States is a capitalist nation, and that neither country entertains any serious intention of changing its system. It is assumed that the two systems are incompatible, that they cannot live in peace together in the same world, and that from this basic difference arises the difficulty of peace-making.

I challenge this whole concept, whether it is expressed in terms of Right or Left, whether it is given a Tory or a Marxist coloration. According to this idea, a stable peace would be more practical, easier to accomplish, if the Soviet Union were by some magic to be abolished and its territory again come under the capitalist system. But that is obvious nonsense. First, there is no magic capable of abolishing the Soviet Union and its socialist system; second, there is no evidence in history that a common capitalistic system makes for peaceful relations between nations, but, on the contrary, the evidence points the other way. If the argument is put in the reverse form—that it would be easy to make peace if all nations were socialist—this is merely running away from the practical problem also, and by surrendering the real world to the Tories, constitutes a form of Utopianism.

If for a moment we consent to leave the world of reality and speculate on the problems of peace-making with a capitalistic Russia, we still could not promise Mr. Byrnes an easier job in this dream-world. For it is obvious that if the change to capitalism rendered Russia weak and defenseless, there would be a wild scramble of all the other capitalistic nations to carve her up, there would be conferences for that purpose but not for peace, and a major world struggle would loom over the carcass of such a Russia. If the speculative, capitalistic Russia by some unexplained means retained the tremendous powers generated under the Soviet Union, then Mr. Byrnes would be faced with demands far beyond anything Mr. Molotov has made. A powerful, capitalistic Russia is unimaginable except in terms of a terrific and violent expansionist power, vastly more difficult for the United States to live with in peace than is the Soviet Union.

For all these reasons I reject completely the concept that the central difficulty of a durable peace arises from the antagonism between capitalism and socialism;

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it violates the world of reality as much as it does the principles of abstract logic.

WHERE, then, can we place a finger on a central factor, a correct attitude which will give the key to the expeditious solution of all detailed questions?

In my opinion we have grasped one facet of this central factor when we realize that the Soviet Union expects to be treated as a great power, as an equal, and cannot reconcile itself to any other relationship. It considers this equality necessary to an enduring peace—not equality with, for example, the Dominican Republic, but equality with the United States.

Franklin D. Roosevelt won the respect, confidence and affection of the Soviet people and their leaders by treating them as equals. Once they became sure he held this attitude as a settled policy, the solution of all problems between the two countries became comparatively easy. I personally met with many spontaneous expressions of this Soviet feeling toward Roosevelt; it colored Soviet attitudes toward all things American. I feel safe in saying that the people and the leaders of the USSR esteemed Roosevelt above any other person outside their own country, regardless of ideological considerations, regardless of the fact that Roosevelt represented the most powerful capitalist nation—supposedly the antithesis of their own way of life.

Soviet leaders felt a sharp change in America's attitude immediately upon the death of Roosevelt and even before the end of the war. They felt it at the San Francisco Conference, where the American delegation light-heartedly mobilized a steam-roller majority to override Soviet views with little or no discussion—and on issues, like Argentina, where the American moral position was indefensible. They have felt it more and more since then, in a mounting series of incidents. They can draw no other conclusion than that those forces in America which would deny them an equal place in the family of nations are, with Roosevelt gone, gaining the dominant position in American life. They read our papers and find this course rationalized under the slogan: "Get tough with Russia." They react to this in exactly the same way that any American worth his salt would if faced with the slogan and practice: "Get tough with America." That is, they say that if it is a question of competition to see which is the tougher, they really think they can last a long time. The only difference between a Russian and an American in this respect is that the Russian reacts less violently than would an American in similar circumstances.

Despite their disappointment at the apparent abandonment of Roosevelt's friendly relationship with the Soviet Union, I did not receive the impression in Moscow that the Soviet leaders consider that this trend is final and irrevocable, or that relations between the two countries are fated to grow progressively worse. On the contrary, it was my impression that a more exact description of the Soviet view would be that this trend of American attitude is transitory, that it does not correspond to America's own best interests but is rather the product of obsolete ideological influences, and that it may therefore be expected to change for the better—in the absence of a political upheaval which would place America in the hands of the bitter-end enemies of the Soviet Union.

Neither could I detect any tendency in Moscow to place responsibility for this change in America's attitude upon President Truman. On the contrary there seemed to be appreciation of the fact that every time Harry Truman has personally intervened in Soviet-American relations the result has been to smooth the road toward agreement and coöperation. The nearest thing to a negative attitude that I could find expressed toward Truman was a questioning one, asking whether his mounting domestic difficulties might not make it impossible for him to take command of international relations in the Roosevelt tradition.

THERE is not in Moscow, of course, any tendency to close eyes to the accumulating sign that there are powerful forces in the world which want an Anglo-American war against the Soviet Union and are working tirelessly to bring this to pass. Neither could I find any opinion that it is impossible for them to succeed. Rather they seem to consider that this issue is central to the whole struggle between the forces of progress and reaction within America; if the progressive forces can unite themselves and find adequate leadership, then America will surely find the way to put her influence behind a durable peace; but if the reactionary forces come to power through default of sufficient leadership and unity among the progressives, then the prospect is far from bright.

One of my Soviet friends, trying to explain to himself why America shows at present a sort of callous indifference to Soviet problems of security, commented:

> Evidently the American people do not yet understand what war means. Your fighting was all done far from home. You did not witness the razing of your cities to the ground. You do not know what it means to have millions upon millions of civilian casualties. Your population even lived better, on the whole, during the war than it had in the previous ten years. You did not suffer, and you did not even share deeply in the suffering of your own soldiers abroad. That is why you cannot understand our preoccupation with the problem of guarantees that we will not again go through the hell of invasion we have suffered twice in a generation.

I made some small attempt of my own to obtain a more intimate feeling of what Soviet casualty lists meant, beyond the dry tables of statistics. To bring it down to humanly comprehensible terms, I asked an

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

old friend how many lives were lost in his family in the war. His family, Muscovites for generations and therefore not in the occupied territory, had lost seven out of eleven male members of military age. I went to an apartment house which I knew personally, because two of my sons spent their first years there; every single male of military age in that house had given his life in the defense of Moscow in 1941 and 1942, except one who had been rejected by the army because of tuberculosis. Yes, it is true, we Americans do not know what war means! The Soviet people know—too well! That is one of the reasons why the two nations find it difficult to understand each other.

That is also why I, as an American, find it necessary to say that I cannot hold a single doubt of the will to a durable peace on the part of the Soviet people and their leaders. That is why I must say that the question whether we achieve that durable peace depends upon whether the American people and their leaders can display a comparable will to peace and some understanding of the heavy price the Soviet people paid in our common war.

Who Wants War in China?

by Lawrence K. Rosinger

This article was received as the news of the further civil war and Madam Sun's appeal to Americans was breaking in the press. The last word received from the author was that he was about to leave for Peiping and the north, including Manchuria, Kalgan and Yenan. His latest reports will appear in future issues. — THE EDITORS

Shanghai (by airmail)

AFTER ten years of intermittent discussions between the Central Government and the Chinese Communists, it is abundantly clear that what is needed is not new agreements, but a basis for carrying out those already made. The Chinese people, of course, will welcome even the emptiest political and military pacts if they help to stave off an all-out civil war for as much as a month or a week. But at a time when the United States has been backing the Kuomintang administration to the hilt, while supposedly acting as an impartial mediator, it is more than ever necessary to examine the fundamental aspects of the Chinese situation.

The Political Consultative Conference decisions of last January, providing for a coalition government under a new constitution, and the army-reorganization plan concluded in February, pointed the way toward a peaceful and democratic evolution of Chinese politics. But the agreements were virtually still-born. Chiang Kai-shek could have reorganized the government on a coalition basis within ten days of the PCC, but he avoided action, thereby arousing the suspicions of the Communists and the liberals grouped in the Democratic League. As a result of the delay, the Kuomintang elements opposed to a coalition regime were given time to organize and solidify themselves. Then came the breaking up of a liberal mass meeting held in Chungking to celebrate the PCC resolutions, followed by student demonstrations on the Manchurian issue, which appeared in part to be spontaneous but were really organized by reactionary elements within the government. Under the circumstances, the pacts which were worked out in consultation with General Marshall had no chance of success.

THE root causes of civil war in China lie in both the domestic and international situations. The fundamental domestic issue is whether China's three-quarters ancient and one-quarter contemporary society—a misshapen combination of the worst aspects of two worlds—shall be reorganized in a truly modern fashion and operate for the benefit of the country as a whole. This problem is first of all a matter of agrarian reform, for it is meaningless to talk of a new China except in terms of increasing the number of land-owning peasants, expanding their holdings and relieving the countryside of usurious interest rates, fantastically high rents and outrageous taxes. Important steps in this direction have been taken by the Chinese Communists over a period of years, but the Chinese are one nation and their modernization cannot bear full fruit unless the entire country is involved.

Opposition to rural reform comes first of all from the landlord class, whose outlook is close to that of the dominant political and military leaders of the government. When officials in Nanking talk of rural reconstruction, they almost invariably confine themselves to the problem of improving seeds, making additional fertilizer available and carrying out other technical changes. Unquestionably the techniques of Chinese agriculture are badly in need of modernization, but placing the primary emphasis on technique leads to an evasion of deeper social issues. This is particularly true because the impoverished peasant is in no position

Lawrence K. Rosinger is on the staff of the Foreign Policy Association, for which he is visiting China.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to employ new, money-consuming methods of cultivation unless his purchasing power is increased both directly and through cheap agricultural credit. Yet the Chinese government has failed utterly to take the first steps toward improving the conditions of the peasantry, and its exactions of rice for military purposes play a large role in deepening the people's poverty.

THE ATTITUDE of the major parties toward the peasantry, *i. e.*, the vast majority of the people, almost automatically determines their political outlook. Leaders who oppose social change in the countryside must necessarily keep a close watch on the people, so that any desire for reform can be suppressed. Even the most innocent demands for economic improvement become suspect and are regarded as potential threats to the government's stability. The leaders become more and more obsessed by fear, whatever superficial confidence they may possess at any particular moment, and lose all faith in any political instrument except force.

Never since the establishment of the present Central Government in 1927 have the dominant elements in the Kuomintang been willing to compete on a purely political basis with other parties. This is not to say that the Central Government has not carried out worthwhile projects—for example, the economic reconstruction of 1935-37—nor does it mean overlooking the destruction wrought by the Japanese from 1931 on. But the basic approach of the ruling right wing has been to suppress opposition groups by military methods. In Nanking in mid-June one of the most powerful civilian figures in the government told me: "Ninety percent of the Chinese people are very poor. Only by being anti-Communist could the government maintain itself these many years. If we had not adopted this position, we would have been through." Since the word "Communist" is commonly used by the dominant Kuomintang elements as a blanket term for progressive-thinking people, as well as for actual Communists, the implications of the statement are clear: The Chinese people are open to radical solutions because of their poverty, and the government must therefore bolster itself by suppression. There is no suggestion that the government could maintain itself by seeking to offer a better program than that of the Communists.

These comments about Kuomintang policy do not imply that the Chinese Communists are novices in the use of armed force. On the contrary, in a situation in which a premium is placed on military power, they know well how to maneuver, strike back and strive for military advantage. As one of their spokesmen declared to me recently, "We are not followers of Tolstoy. . . ." But the main point is that the Communists base themselves on a program of popular reform and need not fear the replacement of military conflict by political competition. They therefore have no stake in the continuance of civil war, but would greatly prefer the opportunities for peaceful development that a genuine coalition regime would provide. If this preference simply reflected the private interest of their own party, it might not be too significant. But it also represents the long-term need of the Chinese people as well as of a world whose peace is jeopardized by civil conflict in the Far East.

The question of army reorganization, the most crucial issue under discussion in recent weeks, is intimately linked with the government's fear of free competition in the political field. The outlines of the situation are quite clear: there are two important armies in China today, government and Communist. Both are at the service of political parties, although the government continues to promote the fiction that it commands a national army. The leaders in Nanking have been demanding that the Communists incorporate their troops in the Central forces; but the Communists know, as does the government, that at the present time major political power in this country is virtually synonymous with armed force. They therefore insist that nationalization and reorganization of the armies move hand in hand with democratization and the establishment of a true coalition administration. There is not the slightest possibility that they will ever give up control over their forces except in the degree that the government makes it possible for a political party to operate freely without possessing troops.

This has become especially clear in connection with Manchuria, where the Kuomintang is quite unwilling to accept the idea of coalition rule. On the contrary, it takes the position that the Communists are to evacuate most of their Manchurian territory without receiving any voice in the administration of the areas involved. When I asked one of the two or three top generals below the Generalissimo about this, he replied: "The Central Government is only going to take the whole of Manchuria from the Russians. We have never considered admitting the Communists to the Manchurian government." Such a program, of course, points straight in the direction of civil war.

ALTHOUGH the internal economic and political issues are basically of Chinese origin, they are evolving today under the powerful influence of American policy and the state of Soviet-American relations. In the period of General Marshall's first visit to China, when the PCC and army-reorganization pacts were concluded, the United States seemed to lean toward conditional support of the Central Government, *i. e.*, support adjusted to the degree of China's progress toward unity, democracy and coalition rule. The results were good, since the pro-civil war elements within the Kuomintang were weakened by the uncertainty of outside aid. However, Washington never really ceased to give substantial military assistance to Chiang Kai-shek in advance of democratic performances.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The effect has been to make the militarists and civilian war-seekers in Nanking feel certain of our aid, no matter what they do. At the same time non-partisan or third-party liberals and the democratic members of the Kuomintang, whose hands we ought to strengthen, find that they face a doubly difficult task. It would, in any case, be hard enough for them to fight the reactionaries, but the military policy of the United States creates a heartbreaking situation. As long as the advocates of civil war are convinced that the United States will support them through thick and thin, because of the tense state of relations between Washington and Moscow, it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to avoid all-out civil war.

It is unfortunately true that the Chinese situation is not being considered on its own merits, but has become the plaything of international politics. Only a major anti-civil war movement by the millions of Chinese who follow no party could possibly outweigh the impression made on the militarists by American support. The Shanghai peace demonstration of more than 50,000 people on June 23, following after smaller demonstrations in Hangchow and Sungkiang, may be a sign that such a movement is developing.

Baruch, Gromyko and the Veto

by Thomas H. Mahony

On June 14, 1946, Bernard Baruch, United States delegate to the Atomic Energy Commission of the United Nations, proposed the American plan to control atomic energy in order to prevent its use by nations for weapons of war. In substance he suggested the plan set forth in the Lilienthal Report. He urged, however, (1) that the international Atomic Development Authority should be based upon a body of law with teeth in it which could be applied by way of punitive sanctions to individuals as well as to nations, and (2) that the Security Council veto power possessed by the great powers should not apply to any phase of the Atomic Development Authority's activities.

On June 19, 1946, Andrei Gromyko, without referring to the Baruch proposal, offered the Russian plan of international control. It provided for an agreement by nations to outlaw atomic weapons, to destroy all such weapons within thirty days after ratification and within sixty days thereafter to legislate national sanctions to be applied in national courts by national prosecutors for violation of such agreement. He proposed a second agreement to organize the control under the Atomic Energy Commission, subject to the Security Council and the great-power veto.

These two proposals raise very pointedly the question of the Security Council veto power as it affects the worldwide control of atomic energy, the prevention of atomic warfare and the maintenance of peace.

Can the Russian proposals ensure such an effective control with such veto power residing in the great powers? Does such a control necessitate the abandonment or limitation of such veto power and a consequent amendment to the Charter or the creation of a new international agency—the Atomic Development Authority—outside of and with greater power than the Council?

The present concern of the Security Council in the control of atomic energy, as stressed in the Russian proposals, is expressed in the resolution of the General Assembly providing for the establishment of a commission "to deal with the problems raised by the discovery of atomic energy and other related matters." This commission shall "submit its reports and recommendations to the Security Council"; the Security Council "shall issue directions to the commission in matters affecting security"; and the commission shall "inquire into all phases of the problem and make . . . recommendations with respect to them."

The commission is charged with the duty to make specific proposals for:

1. Control of atomic energy . . . to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes.
2. Effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions.

To appreciate the full significance of this resolution and of the Russian proposals, it is necessary to consider with it the original Joint Statement of President Truman and Prime Ministers Attlee and Mackenzie King, made in Washington last November 15. The signers of this joint statement set forth certain conditions which had to be complied with before they would divulge to the United Nations "the special information regarding the practical industrial application of atomic energy."

One of those conditions was the establishment of "effective enforceable safeguards against its use for destructive purposes."

To what extent, if at all, does the veto power vested

Thomas H. Mahony was a consultant to the State Department at the United Nations Conference at San Francisco. He is chairman of the Massachusetts Committee for World Federation and a former president of the Law Society of Massachusetts.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the permanent members of the Security Council affect the possibilities?

The Charter now provides that the Security Council, upon all matters which are not procedural, shall act by an affirmative majority vote of seven of the eleven members. This majority, however, must include the concurring votes of the five permanent members.

In what way, and in how many ways, or on how many occasions may this veto paralyze the carrying out of an inspection system?

Suppose that this commission recommends the abolition of the atomic bomb as a weapon of war by every member state—as suggested by Russia—and the establishment of an international inspection force with power to carry on investigations, inspections and spot checks in any member state in order to determine whether atomic energy is being wrongfully used.

The General Assembly cannot enact such a recommendation into international law. It merely has the power and authority vested in it by the Charter. This authority is limited to consideration, discussion and the making of recommendations to the Security Council, to the member states or to both. If the recommendation suggested above is acted upon by the Security Council, a veto by any permanent member will prevent its adoption, or any affirmative action relating to it. If, however, the recommendation is referred to the member states for action it will not affect any state, large or small, which refuses to adopt it. If the recommendation is made by way of a proposed amendment to the Charter, a veto by any permanent member of the Security Council will prevent the amendment's adoption.

Suppose, however, that the proposal passes these dangers successfully. If a member state then refuses to permit inspection, a permanent-member veto will prevent its enforcement.

If, however, inspection is permitted in every member state, and an inspector reports that he has reason to believe that a member state is misapplying atomic energy to the manufacture of bombs, how might this veto power operate?

Action in these circumstances is limited to the Security Council. It alone can take effective action. But a single veto by a permanent member will prevent any action.

There are at least eight opportunities for the assertion of that veto under the provisions of the Charter dealing with pacific settlement of disputes, and at least eighteen more under those provisions relating to threats to the peace. A veto at any of these stages will paralyze the United Nations and prevent the enforcement of any measures for the inspection or policing of delinquent states.

If the veto power can be used in so many instances to defeat the operation of such a plan, can it be contended seriously that "effective enforceable safeguards" are possible under the Russian plan or under the Charter as presently written? Can enforcement of an adequate inspection system be guaranteed? A safeguard which is enforceable only against a small state cannot be called effective. A measure which cannot be enforced against a great power is not an enforceable safeguard.

The first two meetings of the Security Council just concluded prompt serious consideration of the promised veto, the threatened use and the actual use of the veto.

At London, Russia charged the United Kingdom with maintaining its troops in Greece, interfering with the internal affairs of Greece and threatening the peace. Russia submitted this complaint under Article 35 of the Charter relating to the pacific settlement of disputes. The United Kingdom denied the accusation and demanded an acquittal by the Council. When it looked as if the great majority of the Council favored the British position, Russia then asserted that she would veto any such action. The Council made no decision. Russia refused to withdraw the charge, but did agree not to press for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the British troops and the United Kingdom agreed to withdraw its demand for acquittal.

The Ukraine Republic charged the United Kingdom with the use of troops in Indonesia in such a way as to endanger peace. The British and Dutch denied this. The Ukraine submitted this complaint under Article 35 also. This time the British did not seek any affirmative resolution by the Council, but threatened to veto any resolution for the appointment of an investigating commission sought by Russia and the Ukraine. The British were not called upon to exercise the veto for the reason that Russia and the Ukraine could not muster a majority of votes for their support.

Was the threatened use of the veto by Russia and the United Kingdom under these circumstances a threat "willfully to obstruct the operation of the Council"?

Syria and Lebanon charged the British and French with the maintenance of troops in their countries and thereby threatening the peace. They sought a decision from the Council recommending evacuation of these troops. They submitted this charge as a "dispute" under Article 34 of the Charter. Presumably, therefore, the French and British, as parties to the dispute, might be expected not to vote. Apparently the great majority of the members of the Council entitled to vote supported the position of the French and British. Russia actually asserted a veto in this instance to prevent the Council from so acting.

More recently in New York, Russia cast at least two vetoes in relation to proposed resolutions dealing with the question of Spain's being a present threat to international peace and the recommendation that member states sever diplomatic relations with Spain. Were

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these vetoes used "willfully to obstruct the operation of the Council"?

This threatened use and actual use of the veto power was entirely legitimate and proper under the provisions of Article 27 of the Charter. But does it foretell a more paralyzing use in more important matters such as enforcement of an inspection system? Does the new technique of "walking out" or refusing to participate in discussion or voting indicate an exercise of a passive but equally effective veto which must now also be anticipated?

Does it not seem clear, as argued by Mr. Baruch, that "effective enforceable safeguards" against the use of nuclear energy for bombs, as demanded by President Truman, cannot be devised so long as this power of absolute veto is retained by the permanent members of the Security Council? In place of the veto, an effective system of balanced representation in the General Assembly with real authority vested in the Assembly should be set up by way of amendment.

In the *Federalist* (No. 15), Alexander Hamilton wrote the following:

> It is essential to the idea of a law, that it be attended by a sanction . . . a penalty or punishment for disobedience. . . .
>
> Why has government been instituted at all? Because the passions of men will not conform to the dictates of reason and justice without constraint. Has it been found that bodies of men act with more rectitude or greater disinterestedness than individuals? The contrary of this has been inferred by all accurate observers of the conduct of mankind. . . .

A penalty or sanction, to be effective, must be universally applicable to similiar situations. Law is not worthy of the name if it can be flouted by any individual state. Yet so long as the member states of the United Nations retain unlimited sovereignty by reason of their permanent status as members of the Security Council, any one of the five great powers can prevent effective sanctions from being imposed. This being so, there can be no assurance of such safeguards as are desired.

The answer to the problem is clear. There can be no permanent world peace without world order. There can be no world order without world law. There can be no world law without a world governmental agency to enact, apply and enforce such law. Is not the following suggestion of Anthony Eden, on November 22, 1945, therefore, most appropriate?

> I have been unable to see—and I am still unable to see—any final solution that will make the world safe from atomic power other than that we all abate our present ideas of sovereignty. . . . We ought to start working for it now, and that . . . should be the first duty of the United Nations.

Unionism's Bid in Baseball

by Paul Gould

IN TERMS OF ECONOMICS, the national pastime of baseball has changed little since the days of Abner Doubleday. The handlebar-mustached player of the Civil War era was pretty much in the same fix as the streamlined, highly publicized star of the atomic age: both were at the mercy of the owners of the ball clubs. If the performer had a serious difference of opinion with his boss and the two reached a stalemate, either the player succumbed or he was out of a job. He couldn't exercise the prerogative granted any other highly skilled craftsman—to dicker for another position elsewhere, at higher pay if possible.

What happened, instead, was that the ball players, minus the protection of a union and restricted to a small, tight circle of activity, were compelled to settle on the best possible terms. When they proved particularly stubborn and were holdouts for weeks or months, they invariably wound up the losers, as they weren't paid for the period of their adamancy, naturally. Indeed, one star, Edd Roush, once chose to remain at home the entire season rather than sign at the owner's price—something of a Pyrrhic victory. It was inevitable that the great monopoly of organized baseball should win its point.

This year, for the first time in the long and colorful history of professional sports, the stronghold of the magnates is threatened. Two parallel but unrelated phenomena have simultaneously combined to shake the mighty solons—millionaires like Chicago's Wrigley, the chewing-gum king, and Crosley, Cincinnati's refrigerator and radio mahout. The twin spectre of Mexican competition and American union organization has bobbed up to jolt the operators out of their complacency.

Not that the Mexican League, financed by the five fabulous Pasquel brothers, threatens now or ever to become a rival to either the National or the American League. For one thing Mexico hasn't enough rooters to support ball on the big-time scale that is common in the Estados Unidos. For another, the climate and atmospheric changes are not conducive to smooth play. And it would require several fortunes to erect modern stadia and fields and create minor-league farms.

Paul Gould is a feature sports writer for the Brooklyn Eagle. *He has contributed to the* Saturday Evening Post, Esquire *and* This Week. *This is his first appearance in the* New Republic.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But the family fortune of $60 million—which had its humble beginnings in a little cigar factory in Vera Cruz—has been pitted against America's monopoly of baseball in such basic, earthy terms that in its first sustained effort to lure famous figures south of the border it has achieved startling success. Before the 1946 season was two weeks old, no less a team than the New York Giants had lost eight men to the "outlaw" circuit. The Brooklyn Dodgers, which under Branch Rickey have assumed a pinch-penny policy toward their chattels, were sorely wounded by the desertion of Mickey Owen and Luis Olmo, two valuable players. The St. Louis Cardinals lost their star pitcher, Max Lanier, as well as several other good men. Other teams in both leagues were hit, too—not hard, but hit nevertheless. The net effect of the leap across the Rio Grande was that the American magnates lost several hundred thousand dollars' worth of players, who are getting far better pay than was offered them here.

THE OTHER DEVELOPMENT, second chronologically but not necessarily in importance, was the announcement in Boston of the formation of the American Baseball Guild, an honest-to-gosh union organized by Robert Murphy, Harvard-educated and a former examiner for the National Labor Relations Board. Where last year there had been rumors of the CIO invading baseball, Murphy's move was quite official. He registered the Guild as a labor organization in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, at the Boston City Clerk's office. Associated with him was a lawyer, Joseph F. X. Doherty, and both began to lay the groundwork last January. The Guild, Murphy announced, had no tie-up with either the CIO or the AFL, but would remain independent.

Actually the Guild is not the first organization to try to unionize the field. Three other attempts had been made, one going back as far as 1885. That was the National Brotherhood of Baseball Players, which, under John Montgomery Ward, a member of the Giants and a lawyer, achieved some gains. The Brotherhood collapsed in 1891 but was revived in 1900. At that time it made demands on the National League, asking the abolition of the "farming" and "claiming" of players. The Brotherhood achieved a working agreement with the NL, but the new American League was openly antagonistic. When the American League won its fight for equal recognition with the senior circuit, the Brotherhood died for a second time.

The third union, destined to achieve considerable strength and influence, was the Players' Fraternity, born in 1912. It stemmed from a strike of Detroit players after Ty Cobb had been indefinitely suspended for punching a fan who heckled him in New York. Practically all the big-league players belonged to the Fraternity, and among the officers were such immortals as Cobb, Christy Mathewson and Jake Daubert. The organizer, Dave Fultz—like Ward, an attorney—once issued a strike call because of a squabble over a minor-league player, but the controversy was settled the day before the strike was to become effective. Fultz attempted to affiliate the Fraternity with Samuel Gompers' AFL, but was turned down, and the union passed out of the picture in 1918, when the War Department issued its "work-or-fight" ultimatum.

This time, Murphy declared, it would be different.

"Back in the old days," he pointed out, "there was no National Labor Relations Act. Today we have the law behind us, and if ball players continue to be as interested in the Guild as they have been up to now, there is no question in my mind that it will be accepted."

There are five chief gripes of the ball players which the Guild wanted to rectify:

1. A player remains the property of the club that signs him until he is sold, traded or released. Owners contend that baseball couldn't exist without this proviso. But the same could be said about the movie industry, in which there is no such clause. The solons have always pooh-poohed a baseball union on the ground that the game is a profession and not a trade, but the fact remains that movie and stage and radio performers have long been unionized.

2. Rarely does a club give a player it sells a penny of the purchase price. The players argue that their ability pegs their value in the open market and that they are entitled to profit from it. When the Cards sold Walker Cooper to the Giants for $175,000, he didn't get a blessed buffalo. The Guild asks that 50 percent of the purchase price be given the player.

3. Players are not paid for the arduous spring-training season, although the owners charge admission for games played during this period. Payment is from May 1 through October 1.

4. The one-way contract which the club can cancel on ten days' notice but which the player cannot break if he is dissatisfied.

5. There is no minimum-wage scale. Ralph Branca, a pitcher for the Dodgers, was a New York University student when he was signed by the Flatbush club. Branch Rickey, the skinflinty Dodger president, was reported to have signed him for a mere $3,300 for 1945, an amazingly low figure for so skilled a performer in a field where careers are short. The Guild stumped for a $7,500 annual minimum.

UP TO the night of June 7, the magnates regarded Murphy and his strange organization with a jaundiced look and a shrug of the shoulders. June 7 was the critical moment in the life of the Guild. What took place that evening was a premature, poorly conceived offensive on Murphy's part and a counter-attack by the owners. That counter-offensive has set the Guild a-reeling and it may take years before Murphy or his successors can recover.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It happened in Pittsburgh, strategically selected by the Guild because of its solid union background and the support that could be won from the fans there. Murphy dramatically presented demands for collective-bargaining rights and when the Pirate management declined to recognize him as the proper spokesman for their employees, the head of the Guild decided the time had come for him to show his hand.

It was a tragic mistake—trying to pull a strike. For one thing, Murphy is a rank outsider in baseball. His background as a union organizer is precariously meager and he was either ignorant of, or overlooked, sound union technique. Where he erred was in speaking for the players instead of having them speak for themselves, in delivering pontifical pronouncements instead of employing old-timers to do the spadework. It was a tactical blunder to call for a strike without the absolute certainty that the call would be backed by the players. This is particularly important where a first strike is being pulled. When it came to a vote, the players—all but three of whom were members of the Guild—rebuffed him in a tense locker-room scene as the crowd in the stands awaited the verdict. Murphy—not the players—called for a strike, and when his members turned him down by the margin of three ballots, the cause of unionism in sports took a beating.

The younger magnates were quick to realize the significance of this situation, men like Larry MacPhail of the New York Yankees, Bob Carpenter Jr. of the Phillies and Lou Perini of the Boston Braves. Here was a grand opportunity. Secretly they met during the All-Star game in Boston, and six weeks after the strike-vote fiasco they launched their drive.

It was cleverly conceived, but actually old wine in new bottles. They revived the company-union stratagem, proposing that the players of each club nominate two teammates to sit in on the drafting of new, uniform contracts. They let it be known, through spokesmen, that a minimum annual stipend of $5,000 would be granted and the 10-day release clause broadened to 30 days. Other concessions were hinted, as well.

The plan worked. Murphy dropped out almost as quickly as he shot up. The American Baseball Guild and unionism's great bid in sports were temporarily in eclipse. The owners will seem a little more generous, and the players will be satisfied—for a while.

Eventually the newer generation of intelligent, nonsubservient players will tire of company unionism. Just as they responded once to the Guild, so will they turn to it, or another version, once the more important demands are denied. But it will take recognized stars to take over and succeed where pioneer Murphy valiantly, though foolishly, failed, and it will take players who recognize that their greatest weapon is the strike and who will not hesitate to employ it if they must.

Regardless of what succeeds, Murphy has made a definite contribution toward bettering the ball player's lot. The union bug has bitten baseball and is certain to infiltrate into other sports in America.

Trade Unionists in Moscow

by James B. Carey

THE EAST-BOUND PLANES from London and Berlin which set us down in Moscow in June suffered no discernible contact with Mr. Churchill's widely publicized iron curtain. There were no broken propellors or scraped wings observable as we penetrated the Soviet sphere of Eastern Europe. On the contrary, the delegates to the meeting of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions found themselves warmly welcomed by the Russian people and their leaders. The trade-union representatives, headed by Mr. Vassili Kuznetsov, were friendly and anxious to continue the establishment of a common ground of mutual understanding and joint action with labor spokesmen from the rest of the world and to build the organization of "peace and progress" to which the CIO has committed itself.

Along with Vice-President R. J. Thomas of the United Automobile Workers and Mr. Michael Ross of the CIO international-affairs department, I found the spirit of the WFTU one of intense striving for definition of the widest possible areas of agreement among the trade-union organizations of the participating countries. In a world of worry, of international and domestic political crises and diplomatic haggling, the atmosphere of the Trade Union Hall in Moscow was both comforting and cheerful. The meetings of the nine-man executive bureau of the WFTU, and of its 26-man executive committee, offered proof that in at least one sphere of international relations, organizations of a functional and practical nature can be established and made to work.

I do not know if governments are so involved in questions of sovereignty and prestige that their mutual agreement is well-nigh impossible of achievement. But I am convinced that the union organizations are finding a way to move unitedly and on a world scale against those common problems of poverty and insecurity which confront workers everywhere.

James B. Carey is secretary-treasurer of the CIO.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The WFTU meeting in Moscow reaffirmed by its actions the principles laid down at earlier meetings in London, Washington, Oakland and Paris—that its most effective role would be that of unifying common denominator of economic and political opinion, and, having adopted its position, of coördinating action. For instance, the question of Spain arose. Not a delegate questioned the fascist character of the Franco regime, but a variety of methods were proposed for handling the problem. The WFTU resolution—adopted unanimously, like all the other resolutions brought before the committee—stressed the fact that Franco's government "is regarded by the world trade-union movement as unconstitutional and illegal." The action consisted of recommendations for protest by the participating national organizations—protest in the form of pressure by each labor organization on its own government, and lobbying in the halls of the United Nations to help win approval of the Security Council subcommittee recommendations for the severance of diplomatic relations with Spain.

It is obvious that the problems which interest the WFTU are the problems which interest the UN, and which interest the peoples of the world. A spokesman for some 66 million workers in 55 countries, the WFTU inevitably has become the most effective "people's lobby" in the world. It is time for the UN to recognize its special status and to take something more than a condescending attitude toward helping integrate the activities and the ideas of world labor in the UN mechanism. An organization close to the hearts of millions of people, speaking their thoughts and crystallizing their aspirations for a better world economic order, should certainly be granted something better than a flimsy and transient advisory status. The Moscow meeting of the WFTU reviewed our past relations with the UN and has directed further consultations with that body with a view to seeking attainment of our goals.

THE TENSE and often bitter relationships among Mr. Byrnes, Mr. Molotov and Mr. Bevin which have marked the recent meetings of the foreign ministers and which have been reflected at the Hunter College setting of the UN, have led to regrettable disillusionment and pessimism concerning the possibilities of effective international meetings. Spokesmen for labor, returning from an international meeting such as the WFTU get-together, are deluged with a hundred variations of the question: "What about the Russians?" All I can reply, so far as the Soviet unionists are concerned, is: "Well, what about them?" At the Moscow meeting there was frequent and extended debate among all the delegates. The Russians presented their arguments with vigor and clarity; but they proved willing to compromise gracefully and in a spirit of devotion to the WFTU.

This conciliatory spirit of the representatives of the Soviet unions seems to me all the more laudable because of the vast differences of outlook between citizens of the USSR and those of the capitalist world. For example: I spent several hours one evening visiting a Russian family. The wife, a professional woman, was highly interested in the issues involved in our recent maritime labor dispute. The seamen, I explained to her, were seeking higher wages, shorter hours, better working conditions, a greater degree of safety at sea—and had the support of a large segment of the population for their demands.

"Well, if the seamen want those things, and their union wants them, and the public wants them, and they constitute legitimate requests, why don't the employers grant them?" my hostess inquired.

Obviously, there are major differences of background between us and the Russians, in the same way that our views vary from those of labor movements in many other countries. But the WFTU has moved into its adolescence with a sure foot and a sound approach. The process of debating issues and of reaching a common-denominator position without rancor or bitterness, but with a determination to work together on a global scale, is in itself a step forward. At a time when so much of the world seems bent on moving backward, the WFTU can take pride in its achievements. The CIO, certainly, is proud of its participation in this progress.

Uncertainty in France

by Henry W. Ehrmann

BEFORE the new Constituent Assembly had started to undo, at least in part, the work of its predecessor, de Gaulle in his speech at Bayeux announced what seemed to him the desirable features of the new constitution. Instead of the unicameral system proposed by the previously drafted constitution, de Gaulle believes in the co-existence of two houses of parliament. Since the structure of France does not allow for a House of Lords, or a Senate, American style, the Upper Chamber takes on a corporatist character—representing professions and social groups rather than the electorate. Where the rejected constitution had entrusted the selection of prime minister and president directly to the parliament, de Gaulle assigns to the president the role of "arbiter" in the designation of the government. The tenor of the Bayeux speech was set by the strong distinction drawn between the élite and the masses. Such Nietzschean conceptions are familiar to readers of the

Henry W. Ehrmann is a consultant for a government agency. His book, French Labor in the Crisis of the Third Republic, 1934-44, *will shortly be published by the Oxford University Press.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

General's earlier writings; his philosophy is as little fascist as that of Nietzsche—and just as undemocratic.

De Gaulle's constitutional proposals are, of course, in all points opposed to the notions of both Socialists and Communists. However, in the new Assembly these parties no longer hold the majority, the Communists having lost six and the Socialists 16 seats.

Since the heaviest Socialist losses occurred in the cities, evidently those urban middle classes, in their disappointment at seeing the two labor parties aligned in defense of a constitution branded as "communistic," turned away from the party which in preceding elections had been considered a shield against both communism and reaction. In the same localities the Socialists were unable to regain the working-class votes which they have been losing steadily to the CP. Should the Socialists become more and more a party of the rural population (and the intellectuals), they would take the place of the Radical-Socialist Party in the political geography of France and would hence have to guard against succumbing to that party's progressive emaciation. In addition, the Socialists seem to have suffered from the acute chauvinism of the French masses in regard to the German question: Léon Blum's party, though advocating the international control of a socialized Ruhr and Rhine industry, opposes moving the German frontier eastward, whereas Communists and the MRP are firmly behind de Gaulle's and Bidault's often reiterated demands for this action.

IT HAD been predicted that because of the resurrection of a unified rightist party—christened the Republican Party of Liberty—the MRP would lose its conservative voters. Instead, it returns to the new Assembly with 17 new seats, while the Right gains a mere three. Here and there the victories of the MRP might have resulted from electoral maneuvers—reactionary elements, by a last-minute withdrawal of their candidates, trying to bolster the MRP as the protagonist of the fight against the proposed constitution. But the true strength of the MRP lies elsewhere. A considerable proportion of the middle classes have joined the Catholic unions in a conversion to what the French call *dirigisme*, a system of planned economy that resembles in many points the New Deal before the invalidation of the NIRA but has, in keeping with the traditions of the Christian labor movement, a rather strong corporatist tinge. For the MRP the accent is no longer on nationalization, the latter being approved of only in so far as it is considered indispensable for the efficient handling of the economy. The borderline between necessary and superfluous nationalization is a highly controversial matter in France today.

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Someone Big Enough

There can be no doubt that in view of the composition of the Constituent Assembly, no further nationalization will be decided upon. As to the constitution, a new draft along the pattern set by de Gaulle can win acceptance if all parties but the Socialists and Communists rally behind it. De Gaulle's speech was generally considered a bid for the presidency, and because of the troubled situation his popularity is again on the increase. However, it is not to be expected that the group which follows the lead of Herriot and Daladier and which holds the balance in the new Assembly will be won over completely by the anti-liberal proposals of de Gaulle. Hence a compromise is likely, however painful its elaboration might be.

In the meantime, the economic situation will be further complicated by the 25-percent wage increases requested by the trade unions which will, at least in part, have to be granted. To dismiss such demands as Communist-inspired would be erroneous; they were made under pressure from the rank and file and were supported by Communist and non-Communist union leaders alike, though, as always, the competition between both factions within the CGT serves to accentuate the demands for higher wages. The trade unions declare that the increase in production which has undoubtedly taken place permits ending the unpopular wage freezing without corresponding price rises.

The danger that wage increases will nevertheless start a new inflationary spiral stems from the obsolescence of machinery and organization, which curtails the much needed increase in labor productivity. Various programs formulated during the resistance stressed the necessity of a complete retooling and general overhauling of the entire economic life should the simultaneously planned reforms prove successful, but little has been achieved in this direction since the liberation. French reactionaries hope that an aggravated inflation will dispel present uncertainties by further weakening the two parties of the Left at the next elections.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Number One World Citizen

by Ralph G. Martin

It was a beautiful exhibition of diplomatic fencing, but there wasn't much of an audience to appreciate it. At this meeting of the UN Human Rights Commission, the French and Russian delegates were both getting overheated when Mrs. Roosevelt broke in. Hers was the patient voice of common sense and when she had finished, the sharp edges of the discussion had been smoothed.

Talking about it afterwards, Mrs. Roosevelt's pretty blond assistant, Mrs. Trude Lash, shook her head in amazement.

"We've been trying to get Mrs. Roosevelt to stay in bed this week, but she wouldn't do it. You know what she has? She has shingles, and it's so terribly painful that I don't see how she can sit still, much less conduct a meeting intelligently. But she hasn't missed a session. Because she knows how important it is to get this thing started right. That woman isn't just the wife of a great President; she's the great wife of a great President."

SITTING in her small, homey New York office, Mrs. Roosevelt's eyes were gently serious and she looked straight at you when she spoke:

"I'm ashamed," she said. "I'm really ashamed because we've made so few plans for our returning veterans. It seems that the majority of the American people prefer to wait until things fall on their heads before they do anything. We should have started preparing for peace a long time ago. . . ."

She hesitated a minute, staring at the bust of her husband on the nearby desk, then went on. "Everybody blames Congress for not doing the planning and Congress deserves a big share of the blame, but it's the people themselves who are mostly at fault. If the people had put the pressure on Congress, if they had constantly made known their wishes, there might be more housing, more jobs, more of everything today.

"It's a very good thing to allow veterans to go to college, but look how many veterans are finding colleges too crowded to take them in. Also, it's a fine thing to offer veterans loans to buy homes, but there are no homes to buy. As for jobs, a few towns did some intelligent planning, but darn few!

"It just isn't fair. . . ."

One of the museum curators up at Hyde Park was discussing FDR's "magic touch" in always knowing the changing mood of the American people.

"Only there was nothing magic about it," he said. "If you ask me, it was Eleanor Roosevelt. The way she traveled all over the country, talking and listening to all kinds of people. And the huge piles of daily mail that she read so carefully. It was Eleanor who came to him and gave him the pulse of the people."

Sitting inside the air-cooled restaurant, the tall, kindly-looking lawyer reminisced about the times he had visited the White House and the Roosevelts.

"In my opinion," he started, "he had the deepest respect for her judgment. He had so many yes-men around him that he needed a few people to say no sometimes, and she was one of the few. What's more, she would always fight for what she believed in. And when they disagreed, he knew he couldn't kid her out of anything. Sure, she was his Minister without Portfolio on Social Conditions, but in many ways she was also his conscience. . . ."

"What do I think of all those overseas marriages?" Mrs. Roosevelt answered. "Well, I hate to be pessimistic, but I'm afraid there are going to be a lot of divorces. I'm afraid too many of our boys married, not so much for love as out of sheer loneliness. And I'm sure there are quite a few women, especially in Germany, who would like to marry our soldiers just so they can get to America."

The whole occupation of Germany was something to worry about, she said. "I'm slow to criticize because I know how difficult the problem is. Much as I'd like to see our boys brought home, we can't do that. There are still too many Germans filled with Nazi poison. If we want to win this peace, we've got to reëducate them."

But she realized the difficulty of replacing our soldiers with trained civilians, especially European civilians. "The only ones left are beaten-down people without roots. The rest have been made into soap."

In the quiet library at the Women's Trade Union League, where Eleanor Roosevelt once taught a class in literature, the small thin president spoke:

"I remember that party we gave for her before she left for the White House in 1932. Somebody wrote a song kidding her about how she would have to be so careful of everything she said and did and tone down her social conscience and have a lot of pink tea parties.

"And I'll never forget what she said when the song was over. The way she stood up and smiled and said so firmly, 'I shall be myself, as always.'"

Mrs. Roosevelt leaned back just a little, her head almost under the sketch of her husband. "One thing does make me happy," she said. "The fact that many

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

veterans seem more world-conscious, more serious-minded than they ever were.

"Take my Frankie for example," she said softly. "He was just a young, lovable kid. Now he's so much more serious about things, he's so much more willing to work for what he believes in. The American Veterans' Committee, for example."

She thought the AVC was a good idea because she felt the younger men of this war needed their own organization. Although she thought that liberal veterans should join the older organizations to make their pressure felt, her opinion was that ultimately they would switch to their own World War II outfit.

"The trouble with the older organizations," she continued, "is that the older men try to swamp the younger veterans with stories of what they did in the last war. We all do that when we get older. I often catch myself doing it, even though I try hard not to."

But besides that, she liked the AVC idea of "citizens first, veterans second." "Because if the veterans set themselves aside as a special class and push for super-seniority in such things as civil service, then they can not only ruin civil service but they can ruin the whole country. . . ."

Graying Malvina Thompson shook her head. "I've been her secretary for so many years and I still don't know how she does it. Always on the move somewhere, always a speech to make or an important meeting to go to or some people to see. This morning alone I turned down 43 invitations."

Then there were the hundreds of camps she had visited overseas, always insisting that there be no dress parades. She knew that soldiers hated to wait for hours just so somebody could look at them for a few minutes.

"And we must have walked through miles and miles of hospitals," Miss Thompson added.

There was that one in England where, as usual, Mrs. Roosevelt insisted on stopping at every bed in every ward. Puffing along behind her was a fat colonel who finally interrupted, "Mrs. Roosevelt, we have spent much more time here than we were supposed to. We're supposed to meet the general and the lord mayor for lunch and we're late already."

Mrs. Roosevelt simply smiled and said, "There's only one more ward, Colonel. . . ."

When she was overseas, she had talked to a great many soldiers and what they said worried her. They said they didn't think the Germans were so bad after all, because their plumbing was better than the French and they had more cars and radios and better homes than other European countries.

"So many veterans haven't yet realized that Hitler gave the Germans all these things because there was a concentration camp over the hill that they weren't supposed to see."

She folded her hands. "I only wish that every soldier—yes, and every congressman—could have seen a concentration camp or at least a DP camp. Then they would know what German fascism was, what all fascism is."

Her voice got softer. "But we can't put all the blame on the Army for improper orientation. It's more basic than that. It's our educational system. We've got to teach our children to judge countries by their people, not their plumbing."

The young man in the Hungarian restaurant was saying that Mrs. Roosevelt was probably the worst-hated and the best-loved woman in the world. All those vicious attacks by the Peglers and the O'Donnells and the Southern reactionaries, and the twisted cranks who wrote her during the war, "I hope all your sons get killed"—those things didn't bother her deeply, except when they struck at her through her close friends.

And whenever she addressed any meetings there were always one or two people who popped up with malicious questions.

"I'll never forget the woman who asked her in a loud voice, 'Mrs. Roosevelt, isn't it true that the President's illness affected his mind?'

"There was a long pause and then she answered, slowly, 'Yes, I think it did. I think it made him more sensitive to the feelings of suffering people. . . .'"

"What I can't understand," said Mrs. Roosevelt," is why so many newspapers and magazines and even the general public have been attacking the United Nations instead of boosting it. Doesn't everybody know by now that the United Nations is our last big hope for peace in this world?"

As for crises, of course there were going to be crises, she said. But they shouldn't be over-exaggerated. "I never once heard Franklin admit that there was any crisis that couldn't be peaceably solved."

Her voice was quieter when she said, "It's up to the veterans to keep this nation welded together. It's up to them to be the loudest, strongest pressure group for the United Nations and peace. If not, we might not have a world . . ."

The American UN delegates had just come back from their tour of the DP camps in Europe and Mrs. Roosevelt asked them what they had seen.

Oh, it wasn't so bad, they said, those DP camps weren't really so bad as they were painted. They had talked to a lot of Army officers about it and they had gone on a conducted tour of some of the camps.

"But did you talk to the DP's?" she wanted to know.

No, they hadn't. It had never occurred to them.

Her voice was strained. "How can you know anything unless you talk to the people themselves? . . ."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

London Letter

Bread and Circuses

BY THE TIME you read this, the results of a miniature general election, staged in Bexley, North Battersea and Pontypool, will have provided a useful barometric check on the electoral climate which the Labor Government is enjoying or enduring at the close of its first year.

Enlivened by the current Tory crusade against the government's bread-rationing plan, which went into effect on Sunday, July 22, the campaign has not lacked interest. The Tories have been trying to turn the rebellion of the Association of Master Bakers against John Strachey to political account. They have deployed on the floor of the House of Commons a number of petitions from dubious "housewives' " organizations, some of which have a decidedly neo-fascist tendency. Winston Churchill has been harrowing the minds of the electors with a series of letters to his Tory henchmen, depicting present-day Britain as a land of disillusionment. Once again the old propaganda about Socialist bureaucrats fettering the genuine spirit of British free enterprise has been trotted out by the old maestro with his customary irrelevant gusto.

You will probably want to know something about the terrain over which the election battle has been fought. Bexley is a new constituency, half-surburban, half-rural, set in the Kentish perimeter of London. At its first election last July, Labor's majority was close to 12,000. It is a dormitory for the Capital, but contains a substantial native middle-class enclave of shopkeepers, tradesmen, farmers and the like. Although the Labor majority may be reduced, there is little likelihood of an upset in the Tory interest.

In North Battersea, a typical, working-class inner London suburb, heavily battered in the blitz, the Opposition's chances are even slimmer. Here the intervention of an Independent Labor Party candidate may reduce a former Labor majority of more than 9,000. But on previous showing, outside its last stronghold on Clydeside, the ILP, a wraith of its former self, is unlikely to dent Douglas Jay's campaign. Jay was adviser to Attlee on economic affairs and has had the support of a notable array of cabinet ministers.

Third on the by-election list is the Welsh tin and iron center of Pontypool, where a Labor majority of nearly 20,000 appears unassailable. Although the social complexion of the three constituencies holds out little encouragement to Tory aspirations, the Conservatives are fighting hard. If they can make some impression in predominantly working-class areas, then their hopes among the middle classes, whose inclination to the Left tipped the scales for Labor in 1945, will begin to rise. But it is hard to see how their purely negative approach to current politics can win over even those who do not understand why in twelve months Labor has not solved the problems of nearly two decades.

The Tories still have no alternative policy. In effect they have no alternative leader. Churchill seems destined to relive the political career of Lloyd George. The Tory press lords, who are making the running and calling the tune, will have none of Eden, who has shriveled up in opposition, as he did once before. Oliver Stanley, R. A. Butler and Brendan Bracken make up an opposition front bench which lacks authority and self-confidence. When George Isaacs, Minister of Labor, half-jocularly set May, 1950, for next general-election day, he was only stating what most Tories secretly believe. At the moment all they can really hope for is to be called back as junior partners in a coalition, and their propaganda is directed to that end.

Under the heading, "The American Lesson," the pro-government press, which is really much more substantial and influential than the recent Commons motion for an inquiry into press monopoly made by Michael Foot, Haydn Davies and well over a hundred other Labor back-benchers would lead you to believe, has been conducting a smug but effective campaign on the wisdom of the government's continuation of controls.

For the past two weeks the *Daily Herald*, *Daily Mirror* and *News Chronicle* have carried nice little tables showing in pounds, shillings and pence equivalent to dollars and cents, what exactly hit America when price controls disappeared. The moral was obvious, but telling. At least over here everybody has a chance of getting some butter, meat, cooking fat and bacon each week. Not a great deal, but at prices within the reach of all. Rents for unfurnished premises are stable and very soon London rent tribunals will begin to discipline the profiteers in furnished dwellings, so far not subject to controls.

Lord Beaverbrook, who has long been trying to persuade his three million readers that the American way of life should be Britain's goal, has been slightly discomfited by what has happened across the Atlantic, but his New York correspondent has been supplying some alternative figures intended to stress the resilience of a "free market."

Inflationary storm signals in the U. S., coupled with the House debate on the British loan, tended to diminish any real enthusiasm for the final passing of the measure. Over here there is acute fear both on the Right and the Left that Britain is gambling that there won't be an American slump, and that the gamble isn't such a good one. There is also deep resentment that so many apparently extraneous arguments against the loan, including British policy in Palestine, were ventilated with such vehemence. Your correspondent understands and sympathizes with the emotions of American Jewry, but he thinks it is best to leave the tactics of blackmail to the Arab League.

With marionettes in Red Lion Square, symphony concerts in Finsbury Park, Thornton Wilder one-act plays in Russell Square, Shakespeare in Regent's Park, chamber music in the Orangery at Hampton Court, and a host of military and brass bands, Punch and Judy shows and children's conjurors throughout the green spaces of the suburbs, London has achieved an *alfresco*, almost Continental, gayety this summer. What is lacking to the seasonal joy of August bank-holiday week is beer. In some districts enterprising hawkers are retailing "official" lists of pubs which still have stocks, and of the now arbitrary hours during which they are dispensed to the thirsty public. It costs you twopence to read where you may drink. So far beer hasn't been an election issue, but who knows?

London JACK WINOCOUR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hellman's Movietone News

A VACUOUS, journalistic, middle-aged film called "The Searching Wind" has already achieved the reputation of being the toughest political movie of 1946. Adapted by Lillian Hellman from her play of the same oblique title, it is a sort of March of Time resumé of what seems like the last six hundred and fifty thousand years of international politics. Actually, though, it starts when Mussolini took over in Rome, moves like an elephant through the crucial events since then and ends, like most educational war films since the First World War, with "America" being played and a grim, disabled veteran denouncing the last generation (particularly his parents) as irresponsible and claiming his type of veteran is not going to be lazy-minded and pleasure-loving enough to get into another mess. (Since throughout the movie he has had the steady face of a man who couldn't understand anything, you don't feel that he is going to be suspicious enough to spot trouble coming.)

The story concerns this boy's father, Alexander Hazen (Robert Young), a no-statement career diplomat who during the thirties becomes No. 1 Ambassador, a symbol of United States foreign policy and, for turning up at critical moments, a lot like Lanny Budd of the Upton Sinclair novels. You suspect he was the only diplomat we had through the twenties and thirties, and there are some wonderful shots of him walking through history sort of tired-faced, like a man who has been used too much by his country. The movie is a slap on the wrist at Hazen's type of statesman. Actually, he is a sort of zero-ball as a dramatic character; he is supposed to be the most traditional kind of statesman, but he says so little and does so little that you don't get enough of an idea about his brand of diplomacy to make him an engrossing or pitiful figure, let alone a tragic one. Especially you aren't given the slightest notion of the forces inside and outside of him that make him so paralyzed in the face of great problems and events. The people around Hazen seem to have been given a postwar view of the prewar events they are living through, and consequently everyone, from his son to his father-in-law, considers him a weak-minded blunderer, and Hazen more or less agrees with them. Most diplomats seem to spend their whole lives justifying their actions, but Hazen's only defense is that he didn't know any better and the people he went with were the wrong sort.

Miss Hellman's characterization generally leads to people with Wheaties in their blood. The casting and the playing are so undistinguished that these people are made even less exciting than you would expect; the only acting that rings true is that of Dudley Digges in his early scenes as a beloved American type, a George S. Kaufman version of Benjamin Franklin. Digges, who in the movie looks like a robin's nest, acts this tired idealist in a hammy way, most of his reactions resembling those of a man with the sun in his eyes. Even when he is sitting still, he's good at making you feel that he is wandering around waiting for something to happen. As the movie goes on, his character turns into a tangle of actorisms. The rest of the people—with the exception of Albert Bassermann's abandoned playing of a Nazi aristocrat—might as well have stood in bed.

It's embarrassing to think that someone thought of Robert Young, who plays the gray stick Hazen, as a leading American diplomat. A lot of the newsreel character of the movie is due to Ann Richards' performance of Hazen's wife Emily. Her portrait of a diplomat's wife is more than adequate, but her attitudes are either too formalized or are played too slowly. Sylvia Sydney is totally miscast.

Director William Dieterle and his staff show embassy life with great savvy. They are so good that the perfect scenes of a glittering Italian social function and the airy, shuttery Italian home of the Taneys have a refreshing effect rather than being overstuffed and heavy as such period scenes usually are. All in all, Dieterle does pretty well by Miss Hellman's script, though the movie always has the look of a stock play. Lee Garmes's photography is responsible for a good deal of the realism—the spaces between people are made concrete and of varying distances so that the movie has not only the three-dimensional but the dispersed look of real life. The average cameraman shows the actors at a monotonous distance—they are generally, aside from close-ups, full size in the middle distance. Garmes's photography makes the people seem bulky and gives you the feeling that you're in the room where the action is taking place.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

Another stockholder suggested that AT and T stock be split four shares for one [and] that a committee be appointed to consider some form of social security for stockholders sixty-five years old or more. . . .—*From the Summary of the Annual Meeting of Stockholders of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.*

Taft said he disliked a suggestion in a pamphlet issued by the American Veterans' Committee that Senators and Representatives who oppose revival of the OPA without restrictions on its authority be hanged in effigy.—*From the San Francisco* Chronicle.

"What's the difference," he ["Pappy" O'Daniel] demanded, "if butter is 50 cents a pound or $1 a pound? What is the difference to a legislator?

"Can anyone here tell me that all men in government are interested in the welfare of other men? Some in this government, it might seem, who must be elected, are interested in getting votes. The reason . . . why so many are talking about being interested in the consumers is that the population statistics show there are more consumer voters than there are producer voters."—*From the Washington column of the Philadelphia* Inquirer.

Defeatism?

Dean Acheson, Acting Secretary of State, said today that Secretary Byrnes was expected to arrive here Sunday from Paris. President Truman's special plane, "The Scared Cow," has already arrived in Paris to bring them home.—*From the New York* Times.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.*—THE EDITORS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

Mr. Field Excepts

SIR: Being a great admirer of the *New Republic*, I regret very much that I must take exception to some impressions given by Mr. Ralph Martin in an interview with me ("Marshall Field, Publisher," the *New Republic*, July 22).

I have no idea how Mr. Martin obtained the impression that any advertisers had complained about any editorial positions we have taken in the Chicago *Sun*, including the Case bill. This is contrary to the facts. You readily see that, as quoted by Mr. Martin, I give the impression that advertisers have in the past taken out their advertising. This has never been the case. Nor can I remember a single instance of an advertiser having complained of the *Sun* editorial policy, whether he liked it or not.

On my reference to advertising in *PM*, our position in this matter was very carefully explained in the Prospectus recently issued by *PM*. In it, it was pointed out that whether or not we wished to take advertising was academic, as we hadn't the equipment to take it without cutting down on editorial content.

He finishes by attributing to me a quotation which I once read from William Allen White, and which I quoted in my book—"Freedom is more than a word."

New York City MARSHALL FIELD

[Both the editors and Mr. Martin of course regret that there was any misunderstanding in regard to the contents of the interview with Mr. Field.—THE EDITORS]

Sinclair on Sinclair

SIR: For the past seven years there has been in process of publication in this country a series of historical novels dealing with the period of two world wars. These long and detailed novels have won the praise of a great number of creative writers, among them Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells and Thomas Mann; also of historians such as Frederick L. Schuman and Claude G. Bowers. Each of these novels in turn has appeared and remained among the best-seller lists, a phenomenon which has never been duplicated in our literary history so far as the records show. The first of the volumes was a Literary Guild book, the third received the Pulitzer Prize and others have been taken by the Book Find Club and Omnibook. The series has been published during the recent war in Britain and the Soviet Union, Sweden, Switzerland, the Argentine and Brazil. Since the war's ending, arrangements have been made for translations in most of the countries of Europe. Of the last volume of the series, the seventh, the first printing was 80,000 copies, and the book has been chosen by the Dollar Book Club and the Book Find Club, which together guarantee a minimum printing of 550,000 copies. All this means that the books are being read by millions of people all over the world and that future generations will learn from them about the first half of the twentieth century, just as they learn about English history from Shakespeare.

The *New Republic* disposes of this seventh volume, *A World to Win*, with exactly seven contemptuous lines. The writer is moved to point out a curious fact which he has observed during the whole of his long writing life: how many persons there are who acquire humane ideas—liberal, progressive, radical, whatever you choose to call them—in the fields of economics and politics and yet remain in the fields of literature and esthetics completely snobbish, anti-social and reactionary. To say that a book is popular is to make it suspect, and if lines of poetry are written which contain any meaning for the average man those lines are automatically condemned. For the most part these persons have no idea of the watertight compartments in their own minds.

Monrovia, Calif. UPTON SINCLAIR

The Glass of Fashion

SIR: In "The Bandwagon" for April 22 there is an AP news release from the Colonial Office in Lisbon saying that the natives of Angola must "dress decently and no longer appear naked or wearing leaves . . . in villages or towns." To one knowing the colony, this statement has a more sardonic character than appears on the surface.

In Angola all able-bodied male Africans over 16 years of age who are not already employed through a government agency are subject to draft for forced labor. In this service they receive a food ration and a wage of approximately five cents a day. Each able-bodied male Angolan from the age of 16 pays a head tax equal to 100 days' wages. Usually there are "additional" items which run the tax up to about the wages for 120 days. There are heavy duties on imported articles. Two years ago I paid $1 a yard for cotton khaki cloth for trousers. Cloth for shirts is 75 cents a yard, so that a shirt and pair of trousers cost $8.75 when the charge for making them is figured in. If a man should work every day and not be sick, and after paying his tax should spend all the rest of his wages—$9 or $9.50—on clothes for himself and his family, law or no law, somebody would have to wear leaves.

This is just miserable propaganda to discredit the African, making believe that he is so low-down and primitive that he will not wear clothes unless he is obliged to do so by law. Consequently the white man is justified in forcing him to work for a nickel a day. This release has an odor, a very sanctified odor.

Lexington, Mass. MERLIN ENNIS

From The New Republic Mail Bag

We have received a letter from C. A. Hourani, secretary of the Arab Office, Washington, D. C., protesting against several points made in the editorial, "A Program for Palestine" (the *New Republic*, July 15). In his letter, which is too long to print, Hourani objects to the statement that the sale of land to the Jews was prohibited by the British White Paper of 1939. He says it was only restricted to certain areas, to protect the Arab land owner and peasant against the gradual alienation of the land. He protests the statement that increase of Jewish immigration was made contingent upon Arab approval "which has never yet been witnessed under any circumstances," chiefly on the ground that the Arabs have never been allowed to vote on Jewish immigration. He says that both immigration and land purchase have continued despite the White Paper. Hourani objects to the statement that the Passfield White Paper of 1930 "sought to appease the Arabs," and to the statement that Palestine is now experiencing "a small-scale civil war." He thinks the problem of Palestine can only be solved if it is dissociated from the problem of the 100,000 Jews whom it is proposed to send there, and urges that these people be sent somewhere else.

Hubert F. Lee, editor of *Dixie Business*, a quarterly, suggests that January 30 be made a national holiday, and has founded the "National Committee for Roosevelt Day," to devise ways to celebrate the late President's birthday.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Confessions of a Book Reviewer

IN A COLD but stuffy bed-sitting room littered with cigarette ends and half-empty cups of tea, a man in a moth-eaten dressing gown sits at a rickety table, trying to find room for his typewriter among the piles of dusty papers that surround it. He cannot throw the papers away because the wastepaper basket is already overflowing, and besides, somewhere among the unanswered letters and unpaid bills it is possible that there is a check for two guineas which he is nearly certain he forgot to pay into the bank. There are also letters with addresses which ought to be entered in his address book. He has lost his address book, and the thought of looking for it, or indeed of looking for anything, afflicts him with acute suicidal impulses.

He is a man of 35, but looks 50. He is bald, has varicose veins and wears spectacles, or would wear them if his only pair were not chronically lost. If things are normal with him he will be suffering from malnutrition, but if he has recently had a lucky streak he will be suffering from a hangover. At present it is half past eleven in the morning, and according to his schedule he should have started work two hours ago; but even if he had made any serious effort to start he would have been frustrated by the almost continuous ringing of the telephone bell, the yells of the baby, the rattle of an electric drill out in the street and the heavy boots of his creditors clumping up and down the stairs. The most recent interruption was the arrival of the second mail, which brought him two circulars and an income-tax demand printed in red.

Needless to say this person is a writer. He might be a poet, a novelist or a writer of film scripts or radio features, for all literary people are very much alike, but let us say that he is a book reviewer. Half hidden among the pile of papers is a bulky parcel containing five volumes which his editor has sent with a note suggesting that they "ought to go well together." They arrived four days ago, but for 48 hours the reviewer was prevented by moral paralysis from opening the parcel. Yesterday in a resolute moment he ripped the string off it and found the five volumes to be *Palestine at the Cross Roads*, *Scientific Dairy Farming*, *A Short History of European Democracy* (this one is 680 pages and weighs four pounds), *Tribal Customs in Portuguese East Africa* and a novel, *It's Nicer Lying Down*, probably included by mistake. His reviews—800 words, say—has got to be "in" by noon tomorrow.

Copyright by James Thurber. Originally published in the New Yorker

"He doesn't believe a single word he's read in the past ten years"

Three of these books deal with subjects of which he is so ignorant that he will have to read at least 50 pages if he is to avoid making some howler which will betray him not merely to the author (who of course knows all about the habits of book reviewers), but even to the general reader. By four in the afternoon he will have taken the books out of their wrapping paper but will still be suffering from a nervous inability to open them. The prospect of having to read them, and even the smell of the paper, affect him like the prospect of eating cold ground-rice pudding flavored with castor oil. And yet, curiously enough, his copy will get to the office in time. Somehow it always does get there in time. At about nine p. m. his mind will grow relatively clear, and until the small hours he will sit in a room which grows colder and colder, while the cigarette smoke grows thicker and thicker, skipping expertly through one book after another and laying each down with the final comment, "God, what tripe!" In the morning, blear-eyed, surly and unshaven, he will gaze for an hour or two at a blank sheet of paper until the menacing finger of the clock frightens him into action. Then suddenly he will snap into it. All the stale old phrases—"a book that no one should miss," 'something memorable on every page," "of special value are the chapters dealing with," etc., etc.—will jump into their places like iron filings obeying the magnet, and the review will end up at exactly the right length and with just about three minutes to go. Meanwhile another wad of ill assorted, unappetizing books will have arrived. So it goes on. And yet with what high hopes this down-trodden, nerve-racked creature started his career only a few years ago.

DO I SEEM to exaggerate? I ask any regular reviewer—anyone who reviews, say, a minimum of 100 books a year—whether he can deny in honesty that his habits and character are such as I have described. Every writer, in any case, is rather that kind of person, but the prolonged, indiscriminate reviewing of books is a quite exceptionally thankless, irritating and exhausting job. It not only involves praising trash—though it does involve that, as I will show in a moment—but constantly *inventing* reactions toward books about which one has no spontaneous feelings whatever. The reviewer, jaded though he may be, is professionally interested in books, and out of the thousands that appear annually, there are probably fifty or a hundred that he would enjoy writing about. If he is a top-notcher in his profession he may get hold of ten or twenty of them: more probably he gets hold of two or three. The rest of his work, however conscientious he may be in praising or damning, is in essence humbug. He is pouring his immortal spirit down the drain, half a pint at a time.

The great majority of reviewers give an inadequate or misleading account of the book that is dealt with. Since the war, publishers have been less able than before to twist the tails of literary editors and evoke a paean of praise for every book that they produce, but on the other hand the standard of reviewing has gone down owing to lack of space and other inconveniences. Seeing the results, people sometimes suggest that the solution lies in getting book-reviewing out of the hands of hacks. Books on specialized subjects ought to be dealt with by experts, and on the other hand a good deal of reviewing, especially of novels, might well be done by amateurs. Nearly every book is capable of arousing pas-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sionate feeling, if it is only a passionate dislike, in some or other reader, whose ideas about it would surely be worth more than those of a bored professional. But unfortunately, as every editor knows, that kind of thing is very difficult to organize. In practice the editor always finds himself reverting to his team of hacks—his "regulars," as he calls them.

None of this is remediable so long as it is taken for granted that every book deserves to be reviewed. It is almost impossible to mention books in bulk without grossly over-praising the great majority of them. Until one has some kind of professional relationship with books one does not discover how bad the majority of them are. In much more than nine cases out of ten the only objectively truthful criticism would be, "This book is worthless," while the truth about the reviewer's own reaction would probably be: "This book does not interest me in any way, and I would not write about it unless I were paid to." But the public will not pay to read that kind of thing. Why should they? They want some kind of guide to the books they are asked to read, and they want some kind of evaluation. But as soon as values are mentioned, standards collapse. For if one says—and nearly every reviewer says this kind of thing at least once a week—that "King Lear" is a good play and *The Four Just Men* is a good thriller, what meaning is there in the word "good"?

The best practice, it has always seemed to me, would be simply to ignore the great majority of books and to give very long reviews—1,000 words is a bare minimum—to the few that seem to matter. Short notes of a line or two on forthcoming books can be useful, but the usual middle-length review of about 600 words is bound to be worthless even if the reviewer genuinely wants to write it. Normally he doesn't want to write it, and the week-in, week-out production of snippets soon reduces him to the crushed figure in a dressing gown whom I described at the beginning of this article. However, everyone in this world has someone else whom he can look down on, and I must say, from experience of both trades, that the book reviewer is better off than the film critic, who cannot even do his work at home, but has to attend trade shows at eleven in the morning and, with one or two notable exceptions, is expected to sell his honor for a glass of inferior sherry. GEORGE ORWELL

Books in Review

Culture and Dissent

DOCTOR COHN is a scientist whose specialized knowledge has not hindered him from finding what the late Mr. Justice Holmes called the bridge between one's particular fact and the structure of the Universe. For so small a book,[1] he has raised so many great issues that a real discussion of his argument would require a book rather than a review. But at the back of those issues there lies the general argument, set out with persuasive wisdom, that dissent is of the essence of culture in a democratic society, and that we need to open more widely the channels through which it can flow in order that the exploration of knowledge can proceed on a scale more proportionate both to its possibilities and the size of our problems.

It would be difficult to find a more illuminating account of the problem of how to make proper provision for research under proper circumstances than in these remarkable pages. On the university, the teacher, the academic and learned societies, Dr. Cohn expresses his outlook with a quiet intensity that is the more persuasive because it is clearly set in the background of a historical vista which sweeps over the whole record of man's effort to conquer his environment. If I select from this significant discussion the incisive pages which deal with the Foundation, it is only because I think these are at once the most important and the most intimately relevant to the next phase of organized intellectual development.

Dr. Cohn points out that "Foundations could have attained their significance only in a society which had lost control . . . of its plan for living." They are the Mæcenases who seek to fill neglected and empty places which a wise public direction, a real sense of purposive effort, would have filled. But he is acutely aware of their dangers. The rich donor decides what needs to be done for the public good. He selects his advisory officials to administer the policies which will effect his purpose. Rightly, Dr. Cohn agrees that the foundations have done much good, but, not less rightly, he points out the subtle dangers and temptations to which they are open. In a variety of ways, they have come to occupy the center of the intellectual stage. They have power; their responsibility is self-defined and self-determined. They settle the subject matter they will assist, the scale on which they will assist it, the time over which their aid may be expected. They come increasingly to have both social and intellectual consequences of vital importance to our future. Partly, they are the new alibi of great wealth. Partly, they are the shepherd to which the hungry university sheep look up. Partly, both in and outside the university, they direct the building of the major roads along which the men and women eager for the chance of research must tramp. No other influence is now remotely comparable to theirs in either range or powers.

But Dr. Cohn, rightly, I think, gently emphasizes some major difficulties. The funds of foundations are no longer adequate to our problems; their officials must, therefore, exercise their function selectively, and this makes their authority overwhelming. Is that authority wisely exercised? Dr. Cohn answers the question in the negative on grounds which are unanswerable; and he shows quite conclusively that only public funds can grapple with the scale of investigation that what he happily terms "the intellectual establishment" of the country requires. But he then, not less conclusively, makes it clear that if public funds in this field

[1] Minerva's Progress: Tradition and Dissent in American Culture, by Fred E. Cohn. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 101 pages. $2.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

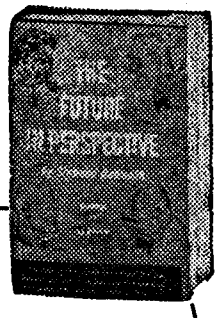
are to be centrally controlled and distributed, the outcome will be a uniformity likely to stifle creative thought. Officials in this field are not the benefactors of the doubtful or the adventurous. They play for safety; they want orderliness. They are rarely responsible for the lone wolf of research, the pioneer who is looking for islands in uncharted seas. They chart their course of benefaction by the lighthouses of established eminence; and this of course means, for the most part, the routine voyage even if the ship chosen be a great luxury liner.

Dr. Cohn discusses with a really profound insight the problems raised by the private and the public endowment of research. Rightly, as I think, he insists that the debate we require is the debate we evade, as it has been evaded by Dr. Bush in his well known report to the President of the United States—*Science: the Endless Frontier*. We do not need the secrecy which, after hostilities have ceased, still keeps the nuclear physicists in a kind of national park around which there are armed guards, the principle of reputation. If we approach the problem of extending the gerontocracy, the fear of waste, the cult of the established frontiers of knowledge in these terms, whether publicly or privately, no doubt we shall move forward, but we shall not move forward with those chances of immense discovery which gave us our Newtons, Harveys, Clerk-Maxwells, Willard Gibbses, Einsteins, Flemings. If I may use a symbol, we want to be sure in our search for the means to control our own fate, that there is a hope not merely for the General MacArthurs but also for the General Wingates. Or, to change the metaphor, because we do not want research to be a jungle, there is no need to transform it into a zoo. Not least, we do not want the administrator, whether in Washington or London, in Paris or in Moscow, to be preëminent over the man who is cutting the path from old knowledge to new; still less do we want to see the statesmen who must make the ultimate decisions on scale of endowment and its objects be advised, in the last instance, by officials who count it their supreme function not to lead the statesmen into danger. Research is the realm where the sudden leap into the unknown, the unlooked-for result, the chance to test the intuition the thinker does not quite know how to put into words, where this sudden leap must be looked upon generously, and not as an uncouth incident which destroys the symmetrical proportions of some preordained harmony.

I hope I have not stepped outside the boundaries within which Dr. Cohn wants to dwell; if I have, it is the fault of his persuasiveness. For his little book has led me to see how very urgent it is to think out afresh the ways to an environment where original thought, scientific or humanist, is, as William James would have said, "implicated" in the environment. As yet, at any rate, we have not found those ways. University presidents will not find them; even the best of chemists may lack the swift intuition this kind of thinking requires not less than knowledge. It looks as though most soldiers lose the necessary gifts once they reach the rank of general. Directors of foundations rarely possess it because they are men who must be able to justify adventure to trustees; and, *a priori*, trustees are men to whom adventures, outside the stock market, cannot be justified. I should like to think that Dr. Cohn would agree with me that the government of the United States could really do an imaginative thing if it would take Professors Robert S. Lynd and Robert K. Merton, men who have the heart and mind and imagination this problem requires, and ask them to spend the next three years investigating the institutional horizons of this part of the social adventure. That would be a grand sequel to Dr. Cohn's grand book.

HAROLD J. LASKI

An antidote to
DECLINE
OF THE WEST



THE
Future in
Perspective

by Sigmund Neumann

This lively, brilliant—and hopeful—book will do much to counteract the cynicism and despair that are likely to be war's aftermath. In it an eminent European scholar makes clear through a vivid examination of the recent past what we may justifiably hope to achieve in the future.

Illustrated with drawings of famous statesmen by Derso, world-famous caricaturist.

At all bookstores • $4.00

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
2 WEST 45th STREET NEW YORK 19

The Rebel as Mystic

Man on a Rock, by Richard Hertz. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 188 pages. $3.

AFTER THIS WAR even more than after the last one, many thinkers are turning toward mysticism as an alternative not only to the existing world but to the revolutions or Utopias which are suggested to improve it. Richard Hertz has written a book which may be regarded as a good example of this tendency.

His theme is announced by the quotation from D. H. Lawrence which precedes his introduction, "We live to stand alone, and listen to the Holy Ghost." This theme is first developed by a parable—the story of Salas y Gomez, written by Chamisso, a poet of noble birth who fled to Germany from the French Revolution. Salas, a lone castaway on a barren rock, did not, like Robinson Crusoe, try to re-create the civilization from which he had been ejected. "What superiority this man possessed he had to use against himself, against his outraged instincts, against the fury of his underfed appetites, against the luciferous revolt of his ego and the awareness of his frustration." By a half-century

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of contemplation of the stars above and God in his heart, he found in the universe a measure of his life outside himself, and became, instead of a man without a country, a man of all countries.

The citizens of this century, the author believes, do not want to hold exalted views, but like the man on a rock are painfully being forced to do so by the frustrations of their society. They can no longer go on repeating "the struggle of the nineteenth century and of the middle class to stop the bottomless pit of the universe with a kind of fanatical self-sufficiency, and what has been called an atrophy of the emotions."

Like many another European intellectual, Mr. Hertz was first awakened to his revolt against bourgeois civilization by a romantic perception of a superior quality in the Middle Ages. He is not the first to see in the cathedral of Chartres not merely aspiration and grace, but a symbol of a lost community in which a democratic sharing of creation was inspired by devotion to something outside man himself. He writes not as an orthodox Christian but as one who has become thoroughly bored with the barrenness of middle-class values. Europe's monuments, he declares, became meaningless long before they were laid prostrate by bombs. The concern of the modern mind with the elaboration of the practical, with achievement, with extension in space, had already robbed them of their meaning. He uses the term bourgeois not as a definition of economic status but as a word to denote "that part in modern man that is inflated by the dead strength of our civilization to the point where he is ordering the universe instead of being ordered by it." Instead of celebrating existence, modern man came to regard the world as his potential victim. (The existentialists seem to agree with Mr. Hertz in condemning that pursuit.)

The author's protest has a quality of its own because he is an expatriated German. He was subject to the rigid formality of German education, with its drill in classification, boundaries and so-called scientific objectivity. After the First World War he took part in the chaotic attempt to oppose different values to the crushing mediocrity of current mores by a revival of the German Romantic spirit. Nazism mobilized this revolt for its own purposes. It developed a philosophy of nihilism which attempted to destroy bourgeois virtues and bourgeois caution. But Hitler, he believes, is after all a caricature of the middle-class man because he derived prestige from performance in unrelated efficiency. Hitler's struggle against middle-class society was an expression of narrow resentment rather than of thirst for spiritual wholeness. The same resentment, the author believes, informs the proletarian movements, which mirror and accept the material valuations that rob bourgeois culture of significance.

Whether out of prudence, courtesy or genuine conviction, the author refrains from condemning the bourgeois America in which he has found refuge. It has, he says, a sort of elemental turbulence and fecundity which is more like a phenomenon of nature than is the dead weight of the European middle class. It embodies its own revolt against Europe and has not lost faith in its future. Yet how that future can be any better than the present from which he finds it necessary to escape, the author fails to reveal.

He explicitly rejects all efforts to improve industrial civilization by better management or planning, whether

"THE MOST IMPORTANT INTELLECTUAL EVENT IN THE UNITED STATES THUS FAR IN 1946"
—HOWARD MUMFORD JONES
NEW YORK TIMES

F. S. C. NORTHROP'S

The Meeting of East and West

In this monumental new work F. S. C. Northrop of Yale University has made a brilliant analysis of the philosophical, political, economic, and religious beliefs of America, Europe, and Asia, to arrive at a synthesis of values, free from the provincialism which would insist that one set of standards only has the right to exist.

"In my considered judgment the appearance of this volume is the most important intellectual event in the United States thus far in 1946," writes Howard Mumford Jones in the *New York Times*.

"The book is great because its theme is great," Mr. Jones adds. "It is important because it is, so far as I know, the only book by an American philosopher to state the fundamental ideological conflicts in world culture . . ."

CONTENTS

1. THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD
2. THE RICH CULTURE OF MEXICO
3. THE FREE CULTURE OF THE UNITED STATES
4. UNIQUE ELEMENTS IN BRITISH DEMOCRACY
5. GERMAN IDEALISM
6. RUSSIAN COMMUNISM
7. ROMAN CATHOLIC CULTURE AND GREEK SCIENCE
8. THE MEANING OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION
9. THE TRADITIONAL CULTURE OF THE ORIENT
10. THE MEANING OF EASTERN CIVILIZATION
11. CONTEMPORARY INDIA, JAPAN AND CHINA
12. THE SOLUTION OF THE BASIC PROBLEM
13. PRACTICAL WISDOM

$6.00 at your bookstore

MACMILLAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these efforts spring from the doctrines of Marx, Veblen or Keynes. The kind of world he does want remains not only undefined but almost unhinted. His concern with inner meaning apparently has robbed him of creative imagination concerning the work of men in groups. He remains satisfied to imagine from the testimony of cathedrals what a past age must have been like. Yet against that society men revolted also, and presumably not on account of the exercise of sheer rationality. Though Mr. Hertz avoids stating a necessity of exclusive choice between living by the contemplation of an anchorite and expressing one's energy in the world of men, this is what his mysticism seems in the end to come to. He does not really think as if mankind had been cast away on a rock and must begin again to find meaning in life, but rather as if each individual man could seek salvation only by dwelling apart on a rock of his own.

This way of escape is, as has so often been discerned in the past, just as sterile in the end as an exclusive concern with surfaces and activity. Human beings do, indeed, have timeless emotions which they have recently been unable to express in society with sufficient vigor, perhaps even to discover. The machinery of existing has overpowered the fullness of living. But man should not only explore within himself; he should also come out of himself with what he has found. It will not do to reject everything but the stars and the bare hands. A genuine wholeness would not shrink from mastery of instruments and techniques, and would employ them in both individual and social creation. This is the real value of Chartres for the modern world, not an artificial barrier between meaning and practice which characterizes both modern mysticism and the bourgeois culture.

GEORGE SOULE

AMERICA, RUSSIA, *and the* LIBERALS

Where do American liberals stand today? What should a liberal's policy toward the Soviet Union be? How realistically are American liberals facing international problems? Is it One World, or an inevitable clash between Russia and the West?

These and other vitally important issues are discussed in a controversial series of articles by:

STEWART ALSOP, who says: "The liberal movement is now engaged in sowing the seeds of its own destruction."

and **MAX LERNER,** fighting liberal author, lecturer and *PM* editor.

These articles are musts for American liberals and all Americans concerned about America's relationships with the Soviet Union.

Appearing soon — in The New Republic

Two Esthetes

Oscar Wilde: His Life and Wit, by Hesketh Pearson. New York: Harper and Brothers. 345 pages. $3.75.

THE FACT that Bernard Shaw said "Karl Marx made a man of me" did not stop Mr. Hesketh Pearson from writing a life of Shaw in which he declared: "As one who has not read Karl Marx, who has no intention of reading Karl Marx and would far rather die than read Karl Marx, it is a little difficult for me to trace the precise nature of his influence on Shaw." Well, Oscar Wilde is obviously a better topic for Mr. Pearson than Bernard Shaw. For, as Mr. Pearson puts it, Wilde never "let his mind escape into the fantastic world of politics or theology or science but nourished it in the real world of art." Was not Wilde an esthete before Mr. Pearson? Anyway, Mr. Pearson likes him and sets forth his career more thoroughly, clearly and elegantly than any other biographer to date. *Oscar Wilde: His Life and Wit* is now the first book anyone should read on the subject.

This, however, is not really much of a compliment to Mr. Pearson, and it is not meant to be. Although he has the advantage over earlier biographers in not being shocked, intrigued or challenged by homosexuality, and in therefore approaching Wilde in pure admiration of his personality, he cannot be said to have pushed his advantage very far. Personality is a sort of cult for Pearsonian biographers (among whom might be included his friends Hugh Kingsmill and Malcolm Muggeridge); they are obsessed with it; and accordingly do not realize that it is best come at indirectly. We understand a personality—which after all does not exist as a human island—by understanding its relations to the whole environment. The only environment that interests Mr. Pearson is the immediate one of social intercourse. But should one not require of a biography of Wilde that it illuminate his views and attitudes by showing them in their setting of late Victorian culture? Has Wilde no significance except as a "delightful personality"?

I think he has. The amoral estheticism of Wilde is a richly ironical phenomenon, an extraordinarily meaningful response to his age. Indeed, Mr. Pearson might have discovered that Wilde was not an esthete at all—if he were not so inveterate an esthete himself. Wilde's estheticism was a mask, worn with all the seriousness of Nietzsche's mask of Dionysus. It was a strategy, a method of assault against philistinism and all falsehood. Even his "insincerity" was a purposeful device: "What people call insincerity," he said, "is simply a method by which we can multiply our personalities."

If Mr. Pearson's estheticism had led him to a real interest in Wilde's *art* he might have discovered the things which give Wilde so full a meaning in his time and ours. Why actually is Mr. Pearson so silent about Wilde's works? In the life of a man who is primarily a writer, the writings are the primary events—at least to us, his readers. They cannot be taken up merely to illustrate his life. On the contrary. His life is—again I mean to *us*—the illustration of his works. A psychologist with an uncritical liking for literature makes a second-rate literary biographer; only a literary critic who happens to have a flair for psychology

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can be first-rate. Mr. Pearson is not a critic. He can do nothing with Wilde's writings but quote and summarize. Is he a psychologist? Mr. Edmund Wilson devoted a long, intelligent review in the *New Yorker* to demonstrating that he is not. Mr. Pearson has an interpretation of Wilde's nature but it is simply that Wilde's emotions did not mature with his intellect. And why? "Psychologists may attempt an explanation by talking of complexes, physiologists by insisting on glands, but they get us no nearer the truth: the mystery of human personality remains. . . ." Freud, evidently, is as worthless as Marx.

Mr. Pearson has not written a biography that one can think much of as history, psychology or literary criticism. Unless one can share his assumption that personality is a *ding an sich* and biography an art quite separate from history, psychology and criticism, the best one can say is that in a culture of pedants and philistines Mr. Pearson has written a witty apologia for the dilettante. And I don't mean Oscar Wilde.

ERIC BENTLEY

Modern India

India Today: An Introduction to Indian Politics, by Raleigh Parkin. New York: The John Day Company. 387 pages. $3.75.

INDIA is experiencing today the birth pangs of a sovereign nation. The British Labor Government, true to its promises, has taken up the question of India's freedom with earnestness and sincerity. After weeks of negotiations, a formula to transfer political power into Indian hands has been devised and has been almost accepted by the major elements in Indian political life. There are of course still some disagreement and discussion over certain minor details, but the right to convene a constituent assembly to write the constitution of a free, united India has been laid down. While technical details about the nature of this assembly have to be worked out, it does not seem likely that minor difficulties will be strong enough to cause rejection of the basic offer itself. So in one sense India has ceased to be an Indo-British domestic quarrel. It has even ceased to be a world problem, in the bad sense of the word. The question in India today is how to use this imminent political freedom to solve her critical economic problem—that of providing a fair measure of the irreducible requirements of decent human existence for more than 400 million people.

This book deals largely with the facts, forces and factors that have shaped the Indian political demands and concessions, internal obstacles and dissensions. It brings the story of Indian political development down to the autumn of last year, when Viceroy Wavell attempted in vain to reach a temporary agreement with India's political leaders. The book concludes with the sentence, "Whatever the future might hold, it was clear that a new chapter in Indian political history was about to open." This has proved prophetic, for the two centuries of British political domination and exploitation are apparently coming to an end. The future problems will be those of economic amelioration, social progress and internal political adjustment. But to understand the shape of things to come in Indian political and economic life, one must know the background of Indian politics. I know of no other single book which offers such a combination of authoritative facts and impartial analyses on such a variety of topics as the social and economic structure, constitution and government, political parties and personalities, the development of Indian nationalism and political progress in the interwar and war period. The book is fully documented and has some twenty relevant and useful appendices.

S. CHANDRASEKHAR

A Reader's List

Planning No. 251. Population—A Challenge and a Choice (Political and Economic Planning. Available through the New Republic, *25 cents).* PEP continues here its running debate with those who feel that Great Britain is uncomfortably crowded. If Britain has a high population density, then plans must be made for dispersion and decentralization, say the editors. And the number of people a country can support depends solely on the state of the industrial arts. Great Britain in the twentieth century supports a far larger population than she did in the days of Parson Malthus; technology and trade make that possible. Furthermore, with a growing population, new demands call forth new investments and actually raise living standards. A smaller population, on the other hand, leads eventually to wasted resources, declining enterprise, greater pension burdens, lower education standards and general social arteriosclerosis. Above all, PEP emphasizes, a decline in population of from 10 to 15 million means a weaker influence in international affairs and an inability to supply specialists for governing British possessions, mandates and spheres of influence.

Should the Government Support Science? by Waldemar Kaempffert (Public Affairs Committee, 10 cents). The New York *Times's* science editor, an insistent advocate of planned

Horizon

OUTSTANDING REVIEW
ON LITERATURE AND ART

Edited by

Cyril Connolly

Brilliant Critic

Don't Miss A Single Issue
Subscribe Today

Subscriptions Limited in Number

BRITISH PUBLICATIONS, INC. A
150 E. 35th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Enclosed is my check or money order, amount $6.50 for one year's subscription to HORIZON.

Name_____

Street Address_____

City and Zone No._____

State_____ ☐ Check if you wish this to be gift subscription

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS

Editorials
Atomic Front Door to Peace 115
Conflicts in China 116
The Reparations Question 117
Price-Rise Control 120
To Regulate Monopoly 120
The Smell of Oil 121
Washington Wire . . . . . T. R. B. 122
Political Roundup 123
General Articles
Facts About Inflation 124
Report on Russia . . . . Earl Browder 126
Who Wants War in China? . . . . . Lawrence K. Rosinger 130
Baruch, Gromyko and the Veto . . . . . Thomas H. Mahony 132
Unionism's Bid in Baseball . . Paul Gould 134
Trade Unionists in Moscow . James B. Carey 136
Uncertainty in France . Henry W. Ehrmann 137
Number One World Citizen . . . . . Ralph G. Martin 139
London Letter . . . . . Jack Winocour 141
Hellman's Movietone News . . Manny Farber 142
The Bandwagon 142
Correspondence 143
Confessions of a Book Reviewer . George Orwell 144
Books in Review
Culture and Dissent . . . Harold J. Laski 145
The Rebel as Mystic . . . . George Soule 147
Two Esthetes . . . . . Eric Bentley 148
Modern India . . . . S. Chandrasekhar 149
A Reader's List 149
New Republic News 150

scientific research, presents a series of powerful arguments in favor of a government-supported National Science Foundation. His proposals, based on Dr. Vannevar Bush's recent report, are supplemented by some biting comments on the fear that planned research will stifle free inquiry. Planning, he urges, means simply organization of the art of discovery; there are far too many gaps in scientific knowledge that must be closed. The great tragedy of private research is its repeated failure to follow up significant clues. Philanthropic foundations have their own favored projects and private industry conducts research only when it leads to larger profits. Moreover, a coördinated program would give an opportunity for advanced work to students who cannot afford to continue on their own resources. The need, in this day of crossroads operations, unquestionably exists, and Mr. Kaempffert's suggestions ought to be widely circulated.

New Republic News

The *NR* extends a warm welcome to the newest member of the family, Nathan Robertson, who is now an associate editor attached to our Washington office. Nate, as journalists, editors, newsboys and Senators call him, has been around the capital for 23 years. Before you picture him with a long gray beard, we hurriedly explain that some of those years were as a boy. He was born in Chevy Chase, Maryland, a Washington suburb. Come to think of it, Nate's powers to grow a long gray beard are still far from proved. He's having quite a lot of trouble keeping long hairs of any color up on top of his head, where they belong.

Nate was graduated from the University of Michigan. As a member of the Associated Press staff, and later *PM's* economic writer and Washington bureau chief, Nate has covered such outstanding stories as the Pecora investigation in 1932 and the Black inquiry in 1936. He reported the Hoover presidential campaign of 1932, and has been at every political convention since then. He was named Heywood Broun memorial award winner in 1944, and is a Nieman fellow.

The swamps and steam of Washington's climate don't bother him, but spending his life on planes and trains is something else again. Nate is a homebody, with a wife and two children at his Chevy Chase house. We get him up to New York occasionally, but, like most of our Washington staff, he heads back for the Hill, State and Pennsylvania Avenue at the first opportunity and with obvious relief.

"Jittertown," we sneer. "Hicksville," Helen Fuller, Nate and the others jeer back, while the Washington teletype bill goes up and up.

• • •

Jack Winocour, formerly director of the Washington office of the British Information Service and head of the American Division of the Ministry of Information, is now on the editorial staff of *Illustrated*, a London weekly. He is preparing a book on Britain for publication in the United States.

George Orwell is the literary editor of the London *Tribune* as well as the European correspondent for the London *Observer*. *Dickens, Dali and Others*, a collection of his essays, was recently published by Reynal and Hitchcock and his controversial *Animal Farm*, a joint Book-of-the-Month selection for September, is to be published by Harcourt, Brace on August 26. His article in this issue is reprinted by permission from *Tribune* (London).

Harold J. Laski is the distinguished British political scientist and Laborite. His most recent publication in America is *Faith, Reason and Civilization*, published by Viking in 1944.

Eric Bentley, assistant professor of English at the University of Minnesota and an advisory editor of *Kenyon Review*, is the author of a new book, *The Playwright as Thinker*, published by Reynal and Hitchcock.

Dr. S. Chandrasekhar, a graduate of Madras and Columbia Universities, is chief of the New York Bureau of Janmabhoomi, a group of Bombay newspapers. He is the author of *India's Population: Fact and Policy*, an Asia Press Book, published by John Day on July 24.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, GEORGE SOULE, MICHAEL STRAIGHT, STARK YOUNG
Managing Editor: NORMAN GRIESER
Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE
Associate Editors: HELEN FULLER, GEORGE MAYBERRY, NATHAN ROBERTSON
Assistant Editors: HEINZ EULAU, ELIZABETH HULING RALPH G. MARTIN
Contributing Editors: H. N. BRAILSFORD, MALCOLM COWLEY, JULIAN HUXLEY, E. C. LINDEMAN, THOMAS SANCTON, REXFORD GUY TUGWELL
Advertising Manager: E. G. WOOD

SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION, SEVEN DOLLARS; FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS; TEN WEEKS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MOTION PICTURE

BARBARA STANWYCK • VAN HEFLIN
LIZABETH SCOTT
—IN—
HAL WALLIS' Production
"THE STRANGE LOVE OF MARTHA IVERS"
A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

—IN PERSON—
DINAH SHORE
—Plus—
GIL LAMB
—Plus—
The Acromaniac
EXTRA!
DICK STABILE and his Orchestra

NOW **PARAMOUNT** TIMES SQUARE

STAGE PLAY

"A smash hit of enormous proportions." — *Ward Morehouse, Sun.*

MAX GORDON *presents*
BORN YESTERDAY
The New Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way. CH. 4-4256
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40. AIR-COND.

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
58th ST. near Lex.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

RKO NOW
BUD ABBOTT • LOU COSTELLO
'LITTLE GIANT'
—WITH—
BRENDA JOYCE • JACQUELINE deWIT
ELENA VERDUGO
—AND—
'TANGIER' — *STARRING* —
Maria Montez • Robert Paige • Sabu

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYOU Coney Island

Queens
ALDEN Jamaica Keith's
PLUSHING Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND Far Rockaway

Manhattan
COLONIAL B'way & 82 St.

"Exciting and Engrossing." —*N. Y. Herald-Tribune* "Story Has Dash and Sweep." —*PM*
GARY COOPER • INGRID BERGMAN
in EDNA FERBER'S
'SARATOGA TRUNK'
with FLORA ROBSON
From the Novel by EDNA FERBER

NOW
RKO ALBEE
FULTON & DE KALB BROOKLYN

"DELIGHTFUL FILM COMEDY"—*N. Y. Times*
CHARLES BOYER • JENNIFER JONES
IN ERNST LUBITSCH'S
'CLUNY BROWN'
Based on MARGERY SHARP Novel
—AND—
"EXCITING"—*N. Y. Sun*
John Hodiak . Nancy Guild
'SOMEWHERE IN THE NIGHT'

BOOK

'HAWAII to HEAVEN'
Lovely Hawaiian-American novel by
GUALTERIO QUINONAS
Hawaiian writer
• Delightful story of a Hawaiian boy who found a beautiful romance in this land of democracy, the heaven among nations.
• A charming, inspiring book, filled with Hawaiian and American incidents, history and romance.
Cloth, illustrated • $2.00 postpaid
HOBSON BOOK PRESS
52 VANDERBILT AVE. • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

LANGUAGES

29 LANGUAGES by Linguaphone, Russian, Spanish, Portuguese—Direct conversational method of mastering any language quickly, easily, correctly at home. Send for FREE book. LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE, 86 RCA Bldg., New York. CI. 7-0830.

FRENCH and SPANISH lessons, grammar, conversation and literature by graduate lady teacher. Reasonable rates. AC. 2-9763 between 12-3.

TOBACCO

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price $1.40 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange B, N. J.

PERIODICALS

SUBSCRIBE FOR PERIODICALS simply by asking me for them; any number in one order. Pay after I bill you at publishers' lowest prices. Catalog NR, free. John Crehore, Walpole, N. H.

BOOKSHOP

COCTEAU, Jean THE INFERNAL MACHINE. Modern version in 4 acts of Greek tragedy OEDIPUS. $3. From Four Seasons Book Shop, 21 Greenwich Ave., N. Y. C. 14.

BOOKLET

STAGEFRIGHT, its cause and cure. Booklet $1.00. Goodhue Studio, 56 Fayerweather St., Cambridge 38, Mass.

WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE

WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE, wide business, P. R., and assn. exp. References. Regular or special assignments. 4853 Crescent St., Washington 16, D. C.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING ANALYSIS
Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0958
Recognized by hospitals, doctors, psychologists, schools; employed by firms and industries. Lessons. By appointment only. Marital education, vocational, psychological problems. Fee $3.00.

RESORTS

MERRIEWOODE
A Camp for Adults — Stoddard, N. H.
FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT: Beautiful Highland Lake, 10 miles long, with good fishing and free use of boats and canoes; interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails; fine tennis and handball courts, badminton, shuffleboard, archery, riflery, croquet, ping-pong, square dancing.
OLIVE H. G. BARON, Dir.

DEUEL HOLLOW HOUSE
in Berkshire foothills, 70 miles from N. Y. City. Delicious food served on terrace overlooking our private lake. Free swimming instruction, rowing, fishing and other sports. A completely informal atmosphere.
Some August Reservations Available
RAISEL COHEN — DAVID SACKS
Wingdale, N. Y. • Phone 3691

CABINS

GRANITE LAKE CABINS for adults. Swimming, boating, fishing. Good food. Private baths. June 30 to Sept. 16. From $80.00 weekly, double. American Plan. Box 77, Munsonville, New Hampshire.

Printed by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Statement of Faith

by

THE NEW REPUBLIC

WE PUBLISH the *New Republic* because we believe with all our will and all our strength that the liberal spirit of America is the hope of the world.

Militant liberalism is our passion and our faith. We want to lead in the struggle for true freedom and for lasting peace.

We believe that true freedom requires effective democratic government able to provide the opportunity for a full life for all of its citizens.

We believe that lasting peace requires a strong world organization. We will work for full support of the United Nations, and for the strengthening of the United Nations by the common action of its members, until it is able to enforce peace, and to abolish the causes of war.

We are independent. We stand for no one individual, group, or nation, right or wrong. We reassert our right to criticize as a basic democratic right. We believe in the Four Freedoms and in One World. We will support forces which work for these principles, and criticize those which work against them, whether they be Soviet or American, progressive or conservative.

We will be militant. We recognize that independence is not a final aim. We will do everything within our power to create from the liberal spirit of our people a liberal movement, organized for political action and conscious of its responsibility to the world.

We will not bind ourselves to any rigid doctrine or party. We fought for the principles of Franklin Roosevelt in the past. We will go on fighting for those principles, determining our political stand by political needs.

This is our covenant with the readers of the *New Republic* that we intend to keep. We are in earnest. We will not equivocate. We will not excuse, and we will be heard!

Join with us in this faith — become a subscriber

THE NEW REPUBLIC, 40 East 49th Street, New York 17, New York.

Please enter my subscription. I enclose $6 for one year; $1 for 10 weeks.

Name .....

Street and Number .....

City ..... State .....

8-5-46

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED